TENNESSEE ST UNIV
SHEPPOD LIBR
PICKICALS LIBR
JOHNSON CITY TN
U.S.A.

The Nation.

March 31, 1984 $1.25; U.K. 65p

EDITORIAL

BEWARE THE NEW MONDALE

Walter Mondale's comeback road is paved with bad intentions. In the area of race relations he sullied a decent civil rights record by making a Faustian pact with Chicago Democratic machine leader Edward Vrdolyak in order to solidify the white backlash vote Mondale first courted in that city's 1983 mayoral election.

But his most dangerous turns have been in the areas of war, peace and national security. In recent speeches he has begun to sound like an old cold warrior, attacking Hart for softness on communism in the Caribbean basin and all but stating that his principal opponent is a national security risk. (Hart had said that the main problem Third World countries face is poverty, not the Red menace.) Mondale makes rhetorical noises in favor of continued U.S. military intervention in Honduras, unspecified operations against Nicaragua "to interdict arms shipments to El Salvador" (Reagan's rationale) and unwavering support for whatever the Israeli government decides is biblically sanctioned.

Looking back, Mondale's descent into the ranks of the "defense Democrats" is not surprising. It could be misguided campaign oratory, of course; but, then again, it could be a recrudescence of the dark side of the Humphrey legacy, which is more troubling. Mondale's progressivism was always circumscribed by labor's cold war demands to keep quiet on Vietnam, to scuttle SALT II and to pour money into the Pentagon.

Whatever the cause, it is disconcerting to see how fast and how far Mondale has strayed from the more peaceable statements he made earlier in the campaign. Perhaps the fury of battle has forced him to spell out what was once left fuzzy. If so, his reactions are a worrisome indication of what he would do under the pressures of power.

DEATH SQUADS
Lucia Annunziata

GARY & MORTY
Alexander Cockburn

PRESS PLATES SCANDAL
Calvin Trillin

THE TROUBLE AT 1199
Joshua B. Freeman

THE GARVEY PAPERS
Clayborne Carson

LONDON STAGE
Stephen Harvey

EL SALVADOR & NICARAGUA

TALES OF TWO ELECTIONS

EDWARD S. HERMAN

The March 25 Salvadoran election was sponsored by the United States and was designed to legitimize the rule of the armed forces and a tiny associated elite. In Nicaragua, by contrast, the present leadership is opposed by the United States, and Administration pressure for elections—now set for November 4—has been part of an overall destabilization program. For cases so antithetically viewed in Washington, different symbols are employed and different criteria are utilized. The U.S. government has set the stage and defined the players and their roles, and the mass media has dutifully followed the cues.

Salvadoran elections have been consistently associated with positive symbols of democracy. In March 1982 official spokespersons repeatedly stressed that the Salvadoran government and armed forces support and protect elections; that the rebels oppose them, refuse to put their claims to a test and even attempt to disrupt this step toward democracy. That formulation allowed a substantial voter turnout to be interpreted as a popular vindication of the military regime and the United States, and their plans for the future of El Salvador. The quintessence of that framework was captured in Warren Hoge's summary of "the issues" involved, in the March 27, 1982, *New York Times*. Here is how he described the role of the security forces:

> Is the military playing any role in the elections?
>
> Members of the military are not allowed to vote, and the armed forces has pledged to protect voters from violence and to respect the outcome of the contest.

No other pertinent "issue" involving the armed forces was mentioned.

That kind of favorable portrayal of the elec-

(*Continued on Page 385*)

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

WHO CONTROLS LABOR?

Silver Spring, Md.

Lance Compa claims that there is a "low incidence of corruption in the labor movement," and sympathetically portrays the teamsters as "everybody's favorite villain" ["Sounds Nice, But It's Antiunion," *The Nation*, Feb. 25].

Compa should read Herbert Hill's "Thieves in the House of Labor" [*The Nation*, June 27, 1981], which offers this observation from a U.S. Department of Justice report: "A majority of the locals in most major cities of the United States in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), Hotel and Restaurant Employees (HRE), Laborer's International Union of North America (Laborers), and International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) unions are completely dominated by organized crime." The report noted that in New York City alone more than 100 unions have "members of organized crime or their associates in positions of power." Indeed, this shocking pattern of Mafia infiltration of labor has been exposed over the decades by countless public officials and journalists, and by union members who have risked or suffered beating, blinding or murder to speak out.

How does the Mafia benefit from its captive unions? Primarily by extorting businesses, at the expense of decent contracts for its members. Also by plundering members' pension and welfare funds, plus collecting paychecks for "ghost" workers and operating on-site racketeering.

The mob's domination of the nation's largest union, the teamsters, is reflected in its current love affair with the Reagan Administration, similar to its relationship with the Nixon Administration. The common denominator is not a concern for workers but an affinity for thugs, and for the values of thugs: extortion, manipulation and deception. It is important not to let loyalties and dogmas keep us from seeing the plight of today's worker and the real villains of our time.

David E. Scheim

LEGAL ROADS TO REFORM

Detroit

I share Lance Compa's desire for a "militant, democratic, class-conscious trade unionism that mobilizes the rank and file to challenge corporate power." Cleaning the crooks out of the labor movement is the least of the good things that could come from such a political force. But I disagree that an "aroused membership," which somehow comes into existence for reasons wholly exogenous to the legal system, is a sufficient condition of such revitalization.

Movements that challenge the current leadership of trade unions need legitimacy and successes. The law can provide both. Convicting a union official of a crime involving the betrayal of workers' interests deprives a moribund union administration of trust and overcomes rank-and-file inertia. People are mobilized by victory.

Once an insurgency begins to develop, the old regime uses its control of the "party" apparatus to maintain its power. The minimal guarantees of democratic participation the Landrum-Griffin Act provides have been necessary for even the modest successes of reform groups within the teamsters, mineworkers and steelworkers unions. . . . The law can (and does) provide sword and shield to the rank and file in its struggle with a resourceful and well-endowed incumbent.

I would vote for the Labor-Management Racketeering bill, if it was amended to allow a convicted defendant to hold office until judgment was "final," after appeal. Automatic ouster on first conviction can be used against progressive leaders, who do win occasionally. That some supporters of the bill are hostile to all forms of trade unionism is irrelevant. Legislation has intended and unintended consequences. Landrum-Griffin, originated and propelled by the right, is an obvious case. Legislation providing additional reinforcement to the values of honest trade unionism can only help those striving to make unions instruments of social justice.

David Loeffler
Wayne State University

IN PRAISE OF LANDRUM-GRIFFIN

Bellingham, Wash.

As a "rank-and-file" member of the American Civil Liberties Union, I agree with Lance Compa that the Labor-Management Racketeering bill has "troubling implications for civil liberties," and also that it sets up a double standard for labor and management. However, as a rank-and-file member of the Carpenters' Union, I disagree with Compa's contention that the Landrum-Griffin Act, which this bill would amend, was an "intrusion" by the Federal government into union affairs. Prior to Landrum-Griffin, a union member could complain to a state court if he felt that his basic rights to free and full participation in union affairs were being denied, but state court protection of those rights was erratic and often incomplete. . . .

Compa says that the act "dictates the content of union constitutions and bylaws." Where in the act does he find that? Section 201(a) requires that "every labor organization shall adopt a constitution and bylaws," but there are no provisions that dictate what structure a union must have, nor does any provision dictate a specific decision-making process. The act requires only that the union meet minimum democratic standards and observe basic democratic rights. Section 101(a)(2) provides specifically "that nothing herein shall be construed to impair the right of a labor organization to adopt and enforce reasonable rules as to the responsibility of every member toward the organization as an institution and to his refraining from conduct that would interfere with its performance of its legal and contractual obligations."

The key word is "reasonable." According to Section 101(b): "Any provision of the constitution and bylaws of any labor organization which is inconsistent with the provisions of this section shall be of no force or effect." The courts are responsible for determining inconsistencies, but when have they ever ordered a union to amend its bylaws?

Well, there was the case of a union member who accused a local president of misusing union funds, branding him a "petty robber." He was charged with "slandering union officers" (an offense still found in many union bylaws), convicted by a union trial board, found guilty and barred from participation in union affairs for five years. A court ruled that unions may not punish defamation, because union tribunals are not qualified to decide whether a statement is defamatory or not. . . .

Compa says that "corruption in the labor movement can be ended only through a drive for militant, democratic, class-conscious trade unionism that mobilizes the rank and file to challenge corporate power." Though many of us in the ranks would prefer a move toward "industrial" unionism, in the style of the old Industrial Workers of the World, we would settle for more militance and more democracy in our trade unions. . . .

Don Alford

COMPA REPLIES

Washington

I have read Herbert Hill's article. He describes serious corruption problems in some unions. The "low incidence" I spoke of is relative to the many union officials who go about their business honestly.

I don't disagree much with David Loeffler. I am concerned about the double edge of his "sword." I fear that if trade unionists support the proposition that the government can ban union officers, the day will come when not only crooks will be banned.

In response to Don Alford: Section 201(a) mandates seventeen subject matters that must be contained in a union's constitution and bylaws, or in an equally binding document filed with the Secretary of Labor. Landrum-Griffin *was* an "intrusion" into union affairs; the question is whether it was necessary and whether it now needs extension. Unions asked for Landrum-Griffin by failing to halt corruption and undemocratic practices on their own. That does not mean they should now forsake trying. Labor support for the racketeering bill says, in effect, We'll leave it to the government to enforce honesty and democracy in union affairs. It should be a foremost responsibility of the unions themselves.

Lance Compa

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 238, Number 12

LETTERS
370

EDITORIALS
369 Beware the New Mondale
371 Salvadoran Test
372 The Death Squads — *Lucia Annunziata*
373 The Hart Account — *J. Walter McCann*

COLUMNS
374 Beat the Devil — *Alexander Cockburn*
376 Dispatches — *Kai Bird and Max Holland*
378 Uncivil Liberties — *Calvin Trillin*

Drawings by M.G. Lord

ARTICLES
369 El Salvador & Nicaragua: Tales of Two Elections — *Edward S. Herman*
379 The Trouble at 1199: Hospital Workers, Heal Thyselves — *Joshua B. Freeman*
383 Delabeling Aspirin: The O.M.B. Writes a Prescription — *Tim Miller*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
389 Hill, ed.: The Marcus Garvey And Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers — *Clayborne Carson*
392 Swift: Waterland — *Michael Gorra*
394 Theater — *Stephen Harvey*

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editor,* Andrew Kopkind; *Assistant Editor,* Eric Etheridge; *Literary Editor,* Katha Pollitt; *Assistant Literary Editor,* Maria Margaronis; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Copy Chief,* JoAnn Wypijewski; *Assistant Copy Editors,* Anthony Borden, Judith Long, Art Winslow; *Carey McWilliams Fellow,* Jane Oski; *Interns,* David Bank, Phyllis Burns, Karen Fitz-Gerald, Richard Greenberg, L.A. Kauffman, Chris Ladd, Douglas Lavin. *On leave,* Kai Bird.

Departments: Dance, Mindy Aloff; *Films,* Robert Hatch; *Lingo,* Jim Quinn; *Music,* David Hamilton; *Correspondents: Washington, D.C.,* Christopher Hitchens; *Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *Europe,* Daniel Singer; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Defense,* Michael T. Klare; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Kai Bird & Max Holland (*Dispatches*), Alexander Cockburn (*Beat the Devil*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*). *Contributing Editors:* Blair Clark, Herman Schwartz, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

Manuscripts: All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by self-addressed stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Associate Publisher, David Parker; *Advertising Manager,* Carole Kraemer; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Gertrude Silverston; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Circulation Manager,* Stephen W. Soule; *Subscription Manager,* Cookee V. Klein; *Classified Advertising Manager,* George Monaco; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Nation Associates,* Claudine Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1984 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel.: 212-242-8400. *Subscription Mail Address:* Nation Subscription Service, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Regular Subscription Price: One year, $40; two years, $72; six months, $20. Add $7 per year postage Canada, Mexico; $13 per year other foreign. All foreign subscriptions must be paid in equivalent U.S. funds. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days, foreign) of publication date; back issues available $3 prepaid ($4 foreign). **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries should be sent to: *The Nation,* Subscription Services, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305.

EDITORIALS.

Salvadoran Test

A democratic election presupposes a large measure of trust across a broad spectrum of society. Otherwise, the election itself becomes a tool of tyranny, and victory an excuse for repression. Nothing about El Salvador's current condition suggests that a free and democratic election is remotely possible. Lucia Annunziata, who has been covering the Salvadoran struggle for many years and whose report on the civilian death squads appears on the next page, told us on the eve of last weekend's presidential poll that the country is "completely polarized; each side hates the other to death, and the war engulfs everything." In such an atmosphere, an election simply legitimizes the devastating policies of the regimes in San Salvador and Washington. There are no "new ideas" in those bad old parties.

Annunziata's remarkable interview with an associate of Roberto d'Aubuisson illustrates how far El Salvador is from institutional democracy. The death squads he describes are no unfortunate aberration but a necessary instrument for keeping the revolutionary forces at bay. The army, which President Reagan vainly supports with frequent showers of arms and aid, is notoriously ineffective. Total terror is the government's strategic substitute for the failure of conventional military operations.

Reagan's steadfast refusal to consider human rights when giving arms to El Salvador is, accordingly, not merely another example of his fancy for what Jeane Kirkpatrick calls "authoritarian" regimes. In fact, the Administration believes that any significant concessions to human rights

Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
Johnson City, Tennessee
MAR 29 1984
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would rob the Salvadoran government of its strategy for survival. The denial of rights is precisely what that government is all about.

Edward S. Herman's analysis of the Salvadoran election fraud, which begins on the cover of this issue, makes it clear that the preconditions for democracy do not exist in that country. The choice, then, is between more military atrocities and terror tactics—or political negotiations, which almost every responsible leader in the hemisphere has demanded. Reagan so far is unheeding. But time is running out, and electoral games will not avert the showdown soon to come.

The Death Squads

San Salvador

"All you need is a small fish. From one you can catch a hundred." The small fish Eduardo Sagrera is talking about is trapped in the death squad's net. He could be anyone, "one of the boys delivering tortillas to the guerrillas." And then? "You take this son of a bitch, you lock him in a room, you beat the shit out of him. He gives you two names, and those two will give you four and so on. From one you can catch a hundred."

Sagrera quickly adds, "Of course, that's what I would do if I were in one of the death squads. But I am not. I can only imagine the way they work."

For two hours our conversation had circled around an unspoken but always present subject: the death squads and Roberto's role in them—Roberto d'Aubuisson, leader of the right-wing Arena Party and candidate for president. Sagrera, 39, a self-described "agent in black-market dollars exchange," carries a card identifying him as a "personal aide" to d'Aubuisson. "See, he signed it himself," he says proudly. "Roberto and I are friends. We grew up together. We have a lot of things in common. I studied in the U.S. like he did. When he was underground I was in charge of the committee raising funds for him."

Eddy, as Sagrera likes to be called, carries two other identification cards, one issued by the Treasury Police, the other by the National Guard. They attest that he is a "loyal citizen," he says. "In this country it's better to be recognized." He has a gun strapped to his ankle. "Generally I carry two guns," he explains, "but here in the country I feel secure." We are sitting in the garden at his farm on a mountainside overlooking San Salvador. It is a private retreat, where he raises flowers and breeds fighting cocks. "This place is only for me and my cocks," Eddy says. "It's not to make money. I come here when I need peace. Nobody else can come, not even my sons. They would like to bring women here, but I won't let them."

His garden, his cocks, a few friends and, "above all," Roberto are the important things according to Eduardo Sagrera, not politics. "I am a peaceful man. I like violence only for the cocks. I know the question you are longing to ask me: Have I killed anyone? I will answer it. No. But I could. You have to understand, they are my enemies."

"They" are Roberto's enemies. They explain the boy with the tortillas. "You do not understand about the death squads," he says. "You fantasize about secret organizations, plots and leaders because it sells newspapers. The truth is that the death squads are not organizations. They are groups of ordinary people who join together against the crimes of communists. The fact that they are not organizations is what makes them the most effective instrument against the guerrillas." He pauses, worried that he has perhaps gone too far.

"Of course I do not know any of those citizens," he says, gazing at the flowers. "Let me speak hypothetically. Let's say my sister is raped at the university. Do you think I would be here talking to you? No. I would be with a group of close friends looking for the guy who did it. But I wouldn't have an organization to do it."

Not everybody has friends with the time and the money to hunt for his sister's attacker, I point out.

Eddy shrugs. "You can always find somebody with money and time. I myself could hire three people. A bullet doesn't cost much. Killing someone doesn't take long.

"And this system works. The death squads are the only force capable of beating the guerrillas. It is the only one they are afraid of. Because it is impossible to know who they are. Let's say the army wants to pick me up today, right in my garden. They would drive up here in a military truck; they'd be dressed in fatigues. My friends who live nearby could warn me. But if a civilian car comes with two ordinary-looking people inside, no one would notice them. That is the strength of the death squads. The idea is to hide yourself in daily life. To do that you can't have an organization.

"For every guerrilla fighting in the mountains you need five people supporting him, feeding him, hiding him, protecting him. A group of ordinary people does not need anything. They win against the guerrilla because they are more flexible and faster than the guerrilla."

How do you know who the guerrillas are? I ask.

"The small fish, remember, the small fish."

But how do you know the boy is delivering tortillas to guerrillas?

"Because there is another thing you do not understand. El Salvador is a small society, a society where everybody identifies himself. There are thousands of ways people recognize one another. I can tell in three minutes what group a person belongs to. And also there are thousands of links you don't see. Let me give you another example: A few days ago a friend of mine came to my house. He was desperate. He used to be a farmer, not rich but not poor. His farm had been taken by the guerrillas, retaken by the army and then taken again by the guerrillas. It became impossible for him to live. So he came to me. He is an old fellow, and it happens that I have friends in the government. I called some of them and they gave him a job. Suppose this man comes to thank me. Out of gratitude, he tells me, 'In my office we have ten with us, three with the *pescado* [the fish, symbol of the Christian Democratic Party] and three with the guerrillas.' That's enough. You take one of them, you lock him in a room and, as I said, you have the names.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"You are upset because the death squads kill. But why shouldn't they? The others are the enemy. We hear a lot of talk about human rights. If an honest citizen is killed, no one says anything. But if seven guerrillas are killed, everybody screams about human rights. This is the way the Americans apply human rights.

"Also, they threaten to cut off aid if Roberto wins. Good, I say. Do it. We don't need the Americans. Carter cut off aid to Guatemala, and what happened? Guatemala fought its own war and won. If they cut off aid to us, we will fight the war in our own way. If the Americans don't send us money, somebody else will."

Who?

"That I won't tell you."

And how will you fight your own war?

"First, Roberto will change the army. He said he wants to clarify the situation as soon as he gets elected."

But you just said that the army is ineffective against the guerrillas.

"That is true."

Why wouldn't d'Aubuisson use the death squads? Aren't they the only effective force against the communists?

"Roberto is not responsible for death squads," Eddy says.

In our cat and mouse game, Eddy described only one kind of death squad. He didn't mention the military's program of indiscriminate assassination. And he gave away none of his boss's secrets. But he opened a window on a dark, ugly place. I was thinking of the boy carrying tortillas or, perhaps even worse, of the colleague in the office knowing that an untoward look could bring someone knocking on his door late at night. Eddy described the corruption of daily life in a country after four years of civil war, a society that is unashamed to hate.

To only one question had he left the answer hanging: If d'Aubuisson becomes president, why should he curb his natural and best ally against the guerrillas? I ask it again as he drives me back to San Salvador.

"I speak for myself," he says, playing the game again. "But if I were Roberto, I wouldn't stop them."

LUCIA ANNUNZIATA

Lucia Annunziata is special U.S. and Central America correspondent for Il Manifesto, *an Italian daily.*

The Hart Account

There are hundreds of new ideas, many of them already proven workable. —*Senator Gary Hart*

The "new ideas" campaign of Senator Hart is an outstanding application of the techniques developed by the advertising industry to deal with products that have little utility or no important distinguishing characteristics, or that make claims that are highly vulnerable to challenge by the Federal Trade Commission. Senator Hart has profited from the industry's experience in dealing with the rules and investigations of the F.T.C., negative publicity fomented by consumer action groups, muckraking by magazines and newspapers, recalcitrant network censors and increasingly litigious consumers.

Form without content solved those problems for the advertising industry, as it has for Senator Hart. Introducing content into advertising entails risk. Content might be challenged as deceptive or even exposed as false. Form, on the other hand, cannot be disputed. Some familiar examples of purely formal advertising are the slogans "Coke is it," "We are driven," "Come to Marlboro country" and "Major motion." Advertisers who use such slogans either have nothing to say or are unwilling to speak.

Not until Gary Hart's campaign had form been used so skillfully in political advertising. He has taken advantage of the fact that form is more quickly recognizable than content, because perception is not delayed by cogitation. The Marlboro Man is as instantly recognizable as the shape of a stop sign. Advertising that doesn't start working instantly doesn't work at all. Content complicates: it leads to ambivalence, blurs positioning, slows recognition, lowers recall, increases the number of exposures necessary to break through consumer resistance.

The brevity demanded by contemporary advertising fits Senator Hart perfectly. He has "new ideas," he looks younger (newer) than any of his opponents, comes from the West (the newer part of the country) and is a defector from the McGovern wing of the party (a neoliberal). Even his name and age are new. (No word has greater importance in advertising than "new." It is so potent that the F.T.C. has ruled it cannot be used to describe a product that has been on the market for more than six months, unless the manufacturer has made a significant change in it. Whether the Hart campaign violates this rule is open to question.)

Of course, names can be a problem, as the Senator recognized early in his career. A product with an unfortunate name usually can't survive. If Henry Ford's name had been Phaffnagel, he probably would have called his automobile Chevrolet. Dostoyevsky's Breakfast Food would be difficult to position against Cheerios. Consumer testing of "Hart" versus "Hartpence" would undoubtedly reveal the wisdom of the Senator's decision.

Hart's campaign people have adopted the most conservative marketing strategy to position their product in the political marketplace. The only danger is that a competitor in the same brand category will say something that differentiates him. He might, for example, introduce a bit of content that stimulates the minds rather than the reflexes of the American people. Senator Hart will then have the opportunity to counter with some equally arresting content, perhaps even a new idea. A study of the competition in the category, however, indicates that both events are unlikely.

J. WALTER MCCANN

J. Walter McCann chose his new name to further his advertising career. Actually, it was originally used by his ancestors in their native Lithuania.

LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEAT THE DEVIL.

Smoke and Fire Department

All that people want to talk about these days is Gary Hart's sex life and whether Boston real estate operator Mort Zuckerman is buying *The New York Review of Books*. Sometimes I get confused and think Zuckerman has been after *The New York Review* so that he can publish the true facts about Gary Hart's sex life. But why would he want to do that when he has *The Atlantic* at his disposal? And Zuckerman is a big supporter of Hart anyway.

People talk about Hart's sex life because they know even less about it than they do about his new ideas, except for the fact that he and his wife have separated twice and got back together twice. Most Americans separate once and leave it at that; Hart should get a medal for his devotion to the married state.

It's meant to be a secret in Manhattan, but the Zuckerman-*N.Y.R.* story is one of the big talking points across the country. I flew to Miami the other day, and the steward on the plane was worrying about it. It wasn't that she didn't much care for Zuckerman, she said. It was the principle of the thing. There are so few independent journals around. The counterperson at Wendy's down in Key West reckoned there was something for everyone in the potential deal: Zuckerman would acquire some extra cultural ballast in his Balzacian progress and the folks at *N.Y.R.*, weary from intellectual stoop labor all these years, would be able to get some ballast themselves, of a practical and pecuniary nature.

The Iowa farmer in Key West for a winter vacation said he doubted anything would come of it. "If they turned down others, why would the *N.Y.R.* people want to go with Zuckerman? Besides, a lot of Morty's deals don't go through in the end. He always seems to be buying something. So where's the follow-through?"

The bus driver on the ride into Manhattan from Newark Airport brought me up to date: "It looks like the deal's on ice. Zuckerman and the *New York Review* folks have been talking for months—since July '83 in fact. Finally, Mort makes an offer. It must have been less than what was expected. Guys back at the depot had been predicting something around $5 million. The word on the Zuckerman offer was 'laughable.' Mort always likes to get something for nothing. Anyway, word of the negotiations gets out, and everyone's pointing the finger about the breach in security. Of course the real bone of contention is the money."

The bus swung into the Port Authority terminal and the dispatcher came running out to meet us. "Guess what?" he shouted. "Mort's real mad now because he says *The New York Review* is just using his bid as a base price to get another group of investors interested."

Just then a kid walked by with a big radio slung from his shoulder and we could hear the news flash: "Boston real estate operator and would-be media mogulette Mort Zuckerman today confessed he was 'interested' in acquiring *U.S. News & World Report*, Time Inc. and Times Mirror. He added that he was retaining a small share in Joan Bingham's *Washington Weekly* 'just in case it goes anywhere.'"

Truth in Packaging

Mondale has lost the liberal left in the last couple weeks and he deserves to. As he panted toward the finish line in Illinois you could sniff the rank breath of cold war liberalism, Red-baiting Gary Hart and coming out with positions on Cuba, Central America and NATO indistinguishable from Lane Kirkland's and—in essence—from Ronald Reagan's. But, then, it was the Humphrey-Mondale crowd that invented Red-baiting in the first place. Give me a Gary Hart-Jesse Jackson coalition anytime: high-tech meets the urban ghetto, Jack Kemp with soul. If the freeze bloc—assuming it still exists—has any gump it should endorse Hart at once. Never forget that Mondale's defense adviser is Harold Brown, father (and mother) of MX.

We're still in the month of March and already they're talking about a deadlocked Democratic convention and the descent in a golden chariot of Teddy Kennedy as the compromise candidate. By tradition this sort of nonsense is reserved for late June, when the primaries are over and the pundits start their summer caucuses on Martha's Vineyard. I remember writing a Can Kennedy Stop Carter at the Convention story with Jim Ridgeway for *Rolling Stone* in June 1980. The scenario was claptrap then and it's claptrap now. If they continue to rush the political calendar like this, we'll be reading about platform fights in a couple weeks.

In fact, let's read about them right now. Here are some Hart-type planks: "The Democratic Party stands for efficiency and economy in the administration of public affairs and we pledge: (a) Business-like reorganization of all the departments of the government; (b) Elimination of duplication, waste and overlapping; (c) Substitution of modern business-like methods for existing obsolete and antiquated conditions. . . ." Remind you a little of Jimmy Carter's "zero-base budgeting" prattle?

This particular platform also demands a foreign policy predicated on "outlawry of war and an abhorrence of militarism, conquest and imperialism," and calls for noninterference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua. It flails Republicans on the corruption issue: "Never in the entire history of the country has there occurred in any given period of time or, indeed, in all time put together, such a spectacle of sordid corruption and unabashed rascality as that which has characterized the administration of federal affairs. . . . Not the revels of reconstruction nor all the compounded frauds succeeding that evil era, have approached in sheer audacity the shocking thieveries and startling depravities of officials high and low in the public service at Washington. . . . everywhere disgust and suspicion, and corruption unpunished and unafraid."

I'm afraid the drafting committee for the Democratic Party platform this year is unlikely to rise to that fine flight of eloquence. The language is from the Democratic plat-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

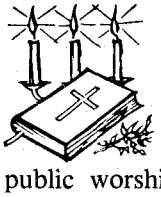
ALEXANDER COCKBURN

form of 1928, Teapot Dome still fragrant in memory and Al Smith at the head of the ticket. Nothing changes much. Here's what the 1928 Republican platform said about the U.S. marines in Nicaragua. Just substitute "El Salvador" to feel the full immediacy:

> The United States has an especial interest in the advancement and progress of all the Latin American countries. The policy of the Republican Party will always be a policy of thorough friendship and co-operation. In the case of Nicaragua, we are engaged in co-operation with the government of that country upon the task of assisting to restore and maintain peace, order and stability, and in no way to infringe upon her sovereign rights. The Marines, now in Nicaragua, are there to protect American lives and property and to aid in carrying out an agreement whereby we have undertaken to do what we can to restore and maintain order and insure a fair and free election. Our policy absolutely repudiates any idea of conquest or exploitation, and is actuated solely by an earnest and sincere desire to assist a friendly and neighboring state which has appealed for aid in a great emergency.

My Years With God

I suppose we should be glad about the defeat of the school prayer amendment. But I'm not sure. In fact I'm all for school prayer, the noisier the better. A childish soul not innoculated with compulsory prayer is a soul prone to any religious infection. From the age of 9 to the age of 18, at two schools, my schoolmates and I had thirty minutes of prayer each morning and each night—about 300 hours of public worship a year, more than Ronald Reagan has managed in his entire life. On Sundays, at my Scottish "public" school, we had at least an hour each of matins and evensong.



During these prayer-choked years I progressed from a surplice-clad alto in the Heatherdown choir to a manly bass in the Glenalmond one. At Glenalmond the boys on either side of chapel would sing alternate verses of the psalms, bellowing them back and forth. Each term we would work our way through the psalms, and near the end of each term the chaplain would announce that we would sing Psalm 137, "omitting verses 7 to 9." One time he forgot, and we all sang gleefully the ninth and final verse: "Happy shall he be, that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones."

At Glenalmond we used to read novels, wrapped inside hymnal covers, during the services. On Sundays you could read a couple of chapters of a good Victorian novel during the evening sermon. It took the Bishop of Dundee's stirring accounts of his personal conversations with Christ, conducted in a thick Scottish accent, to get my nose out of the book. At the end of all this I was a thoroughgoing atheist, with sufficient knowledge of scripture to refute the faithful.

Class Struggle

In front of me is a letter from Bertell Ollman, Marxist prof at New York University and inventor of the board game Class Struggle, an achievement Bertell has made every effort not to keep secret. He enclosed the manuscript of a piece he'd done for the *New York Times* Op-Ed page, about the mythology of small business. A version of the article was in fact printed in *The Times* on February 19.

But Bertell sent me an account of his experiences in getting it published "after a full six months of negotiations. . . . At the very last minute I had to take out the expressions 'class struggle' and 'socialism.'" The final paragraph of the original read as follows: "Capitalism lives on a lie and a secret. The lie, most imaginatively expressed in the game Monopoly, is that everyone has an equal opportunity to become a capitalist. The secret is that there is another way, a different set of rules for organizing society. Like all truly great secrets this one lies hidden in a dungeon guarded by a dragon. That dragon's name is 'Red Scare.' The secret is—socialism." Of course this wasn't cut for ideological reasons. The article was too long; the sentiment was trite, shrill, polemical, vague, clichéd, unoriginal, belonged in another piece, another country, another time. LOOK, MR. OLLMAN, WE'RE CUTTING THE LAST PARAGRAPH, PERIOD. IF YOU DON'T LIKE IT YOU CAN ALWAYS . . .

How Great Is the Strait?

They've been worrying about the Strait of Hormuz again, choke point of the advanced capitalist world, hostage to the menaces of mad Khomeini. The longstanding fear is that the Iranians will sink a tanker in it, cutting off one of the prime energy arteries of the world. The vision seems to be of a waterway about the width of the Hudson River. In fact the famous strait is rather nearer in width—25 miles or so—to the English Channel. My brother Patrick, who has stood looking out across the strait from the Oman side, says he couldn't see Iran at all. When you do get to Iran, the territory adjacent to the strait is marsh, unfit for missile batteries.

The more sophisticated line is that it would take only the threat of a tanker sinking, by way of one missile burst, however inaccurate, for Lloyd's to cease insuring tankers going through the strait. The truth is that though the Iranians might not wish to close the strait, a great many other forces in the world—given the oil surplus—would dearly wish to see it blocked, and for a jolly long time too.

Patrick has the family monopoly on Hormuz. I have stood on both sides of another "crucial waterway," as the strategists and threat inflaters like to term it. In my case it was the Strait of Corfu. One year I looked at it from the Albanian side and eight years later from the Greek (or Corfiot) side. It was there, just after the war, that the British tried to assert the international nature of the waters by sending through a destroyer. The Albanians asserted their sovereignty by mining the waters. The two assertions met head-on and the destroyer sank. The British retaliated by freezing Albania's gold reserves, which King Zog had brought to London and transported to the Bank of England on the roof of a taxi. Bad blood persists to this day.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DISPATCHES.

■ ETHIOPIA: Famine Aid

Despite Congressional pressure to increase food shipments to Africa, the Administration is trying to halt famine relief supplies to Ethiopia. It charges corruption: specifically, that the ruling junta sold more than 15,000 tons of food from previous shipments on the commercial market. In late February a bipartisan group from Congress called a press conference to refute the Administration's charges. Last year, the European Economic Community, which sends food to Ethiopia, also investigated similar charges. Its auditors' report summed up: "No conclusive evidence has been produced to show that food aid has been systematically diverted" from needy areas in Ethiopia.

But an Ethiopian who defected to the Sudan last October has provided that evidence. Abreha Hailemikael, a senior officer in the Ethiopian Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, made public a letter from his superior explaining how to cover up the diversion of nearly 15,000 tons of food shipments from three refugee camps in the northwest countryside to a government marketing corporation.

On February 25, 1983, the relief fund's chief commissioner, Shimelis Adugna, sent the following instructions to his regional representatives:

> When the auditor arrives on the spot to visit the activities in Asosa, you will have ready an entry on the document showing that the specified food aid has actually been received. . . . I remind [you] that the committee must nullify the documents used, once the auditor has completed his inspection.

The memorandum gives a vague explanation of why the food was diverted:

> Owing to the shortages of crops and nutritive food faced by the Commission, the aid was in part distributed to needy people in different administrative regions. This was not communicated to the donors at the time. We are aware that, having failed to act appropriately, the chances of the country securing further food aid could be adversely affected.

It closes with the ritualistic slogan "Ethiopia First, Down with Hunger," and is stamped with an official seal.

Hunger is widespread in Ethiopia, but the most serious famine is in Eritrea and Tigray provinces, long the centers of secessionist activity. No food aid is reaching those areas. Last month, Eritrean guerrillas, who have been fighting the government for twenty-two years, launched a major offensive, which appears to have broken the stalemate. But whatever happens on the battlefield, the swollen bellies and orange-tinged hair that betoken severe malnutrition will probably be increasingly visible throughout the country.

■ BRITAIN: Out in the Cold

In 1977, Merlyn Rees, the Labor government's Home Secretary, ordered the deportation of former Central Intelligence Agency employee Philip Agee, on national security grounds. In *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, Agee had named C.I.A. agents operating in various countries. Last December, Home Secretary Leon Brittan took a similar step against Jonathan Bloch, a South African political refugee and co-author of *British Intelligence and Covert Action*, a history of MI6 published in 1983.

Like Agee, Bloch and his British collaborator, Patrick Fitzgerald, named names. The book's appendix contains a list of twenty-one individuals "who by virtue of their official biographies can be deduced to be former or serving intelligence officers." The list provides few surprises to knowledgeable MI6 watchers; most of the names had been disclosed elsewhere. Among them is that of John le Carré a.k.a. David Cornwell, who long ago revealed his career in the intelligence service.

Still, the book angered British officials, and Home Secretary Brittan denied Bloch permanent residence, even though he had official refugee status under the U.N. Refugee Convention of 1951. He arrived in Britain in 1976, South Africa having become inhospitable after he used his position as chairman of the Students' Wage Commission at the University of Cape Town to expose the scandalously low pay scales of black workers at the university.

Bloch's request for permanent residence was denied on the ground that his revelations about British intelligence were "bound to place servants of the Crown at greater risk of harm." Bloch has one year to appeal the decision, but there's a catch: under British immigration law, the appeal will be denied automatically. As Bloch's attorney, Larry Grant, explained in a legal memorandum dated January 31, "A refugee is entirely at the mercy of the Home Secretary when he applies for permanent residence. If the Home Secretary is not prepared to grant him that status, then although the refugee has a statutory right of appeal the appellate authorities cannot reverse the decision and are bound in law to dismiss the appeal." Grant said that as far as anyone remembers, the Home Secretary has never refused permanent residence to a refugee who has lived in the country for at least four years, so the right of appeal has never been invoked.

If the government felt that Bloch's journalistic activities endangered national security, it could have charged him with violating the Official Secrets Act. Or it could have sought a formal deportation order. In either case, Bloch would have had the right to a trial and an appeal. So the government has chosen to exploit a loophole in the immigration law to hustle him out of the country quietly.

With treatment like that, Bloch may wonder why he ever left South Africa.

■ EGYPT: Dissident Hashish

Early last month, detectives at Cairo's international airport arrested Ahmad Abdullah Jabu, a leader of the Palestinian dissidents who rebelled against Yasir Arafat. Among other things, the rebels accused Arafat of permitting corruption to flourish in the inner circles of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Jabu's arrest suggests that the rebels are not above engaging in illegal activities themselves.

According to *Al Ahram*, Cairo's leading daily, Jabu con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KAI BIRD AND MAX HOLLAND

fessed that he had attempted to smuggle a kilo of pure Lebanese hashish into Egypt. Lebanon exports an estimated $1 billion worth of hashish annually, and the Syrians, Sunni Moslems and Phalangists have controlled portions of the trade at various times. Jabu's Palestinian renegades have until now been financed by the Syrians. Does his arrest signal the Palestinians' entry into hashish trafficking, and if so, does it portend a change of alliance? Or was Jabu merely lining his own pockets? The transcript of his trial may provide some important answers.

■ FRANCE: Unwanted Guests

During the last week of December 1983, three Iranian diplomats and five Iranian "students" were whisked aboard an Iran Air jet and expelled from France. The expulsions capped several years of investigation by the French counter-espionage service, the Directorate of Territorial Surveillance (D.S.T.). In a 1983 report titled "Establishment of a Subversive Infrastructure," the D.S.T. concluded, "The Iranian Embassy controls a large network made up either of individuals or cultural associations whose official, religious activities in fact provide cover for their subversive activities."

That is not the usual propaganda operation conducted by a foreign embassy (though the D.S.T. also complains that Iran is abusing the sanctity of the diplomatic pouch by importing unreasonable quantities of religious pamphlets). Moreover, the D.S.T. report alleges that the embassy foments terrorism. For example, Iranian Embassy officials participated in violent demonstrations in which pro-Khomeini and opposition elements clashed. Worse, orders came from Teheran to Iranian diplomatic personnel in Paris "to help in every way—reception, housing, cover—the terrorists charged" with liquidating exiled opposition leaders.

Nasrollah Jafari Najafabadi, 26, was one of the five "students" expelled in December. His student status disguised his work as chief of the Paris branch of an organization known as Hezbollahis (Partisans of God). One of the three diplomats expelled, Majid Karchenas, had worked for the Bureau for the Coordination of Security Affairs in the Prime Minister's office in Teheran. His duties at the embassy included supervising what the D.S.T. estimates to be 150 to 300 "militant Khomeini supporters . . . sent directly from Iran to France with the 'official cover' of students."

Upon disembarking in Teheran one of the students, whose name was not revealed, gave an interview to *Jomhouri-Ye Eslami*, a government-controlled daily. While explaining his expulsion he said, "The wife of Mitterrand is Jewish and Zionist; Jews are in control of most of the key positions in France. Like termites, they have undermined the French system from within."

The deportation of the diplomats and students did not put a stop to Iranian terrorism on French soil. A few weeks later, a gunman shot and killed Gen. Gholam-Ali Oveysi, formerly the Shah's military governor in the capital, who was known as "the Butcher of Teheran."

■ IRAN: Mullahmobiles

There are no opinion polls in the Islamic Republic of Iran, so analysts must look elsewhere for clues to determine the popularity of the theocratic rulers.

Item: After five years in power, the government has signed its second contract with Mercedes-Benz to purchase 1,000 of the luxury cars for the country's clerics. Each is equipped with bulletproof glass.

Item: According to the Voice of Iran, a clandestine radio station, late last year the regime bought 700 bulletproof Land Rovers from the British Rover Company. They are equipped with heavy machine guns, and can be easily converted into armored vehicles for use as gun platforms in the streets: Ideal for crowd control. General Oveysi would have approved.

■ KUWAIT: Big Moslems on Campus

University elections in Kuwait can be an accurate guide to the political climate in the Arab world. Is there, for instance, such a thing as the much-touted "Islamic revival"? Well, yes, but there is also strong secular opposition to it.

This academic year's election results are in, and the conservative Kuwaiti newspaper *Al Mujtama* heralded them as a victory for the "Islamic movement" over the "leftist movement." Slates of candidates backing the Islamic movement won in fourteen of twenty student societies—despite what *Al Mujtama* called "organized press campaigns by the editors of the university pages of the local papers who are against the Islamic movement."

Election highlights: Islamics swept the Mathematics Society by a margin of 280 to 122. The defeat of the leftists can be partly explained by the fact that all their candidates were Palestinian. But veiled women represent a majority in the department, which also accounts for the victory of the Islamic slate.

In the Law Society, partisans of Islam narrowly lost to a slate that supports the leftist movement but won the Engineering and Petroleum Society by a vote of 425 to 356. In that contest a separate ticket of Shiites received 121 votes. Of particular note here is the fact that the Palestinian students, a sizable contingent, divided their votes between secular and religious candidates.

The Chemistry Society was one of the few science disciplines won by the secularists; *Al Mujtama* blamed the Islamics' loss on a split between the Shiites and the Sunni Moslems. Societies in physics; biology; history; psychology, philosophy and sociology; accounting; and education administration were all carried by Islamic standard-bearers.

The secularists won by large margins in the Economics and Political Science League and in the English Language Society. In the latter, the winning candidates ran on a platform calling for "intermingling of the sexes." Who says secularists don't have more fun?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UNCIVIL LIBERTIES.

CALVIN TRILLIN

Reading the article *New York* ran on the multifaceted life of Malcolm Forbes—who manages to publish a magazine and captain transcontinental balloon flights and amass great collections and oversee vast real estate holdings—I was interested mainly in his parking situation. We all have our own areas of specialty. Mine happens to be parking. I speak as the co-editor of *Beautiful Spot: A Magazine of Parking*, a pioneer publication in the parking media field. In fact, we are this very month celebrating the twenty-second anniversary of *Beautiful Spot*'s first issue—a celebration dampened in only the smallest way by the fact that the second issue has yet to appear.

It seems only yesterday that we were putting the first issue of *Beautiful Spot* to bed, but it was, as the diplomats say, many wars ago: the title of one piece was "The Algerian Problem (Parking in Algiers)." Time flies when you have production difficulties. My co-editor, Gerald Jonas, was then in his heyday as perhaps the finest parallel parker on the West Side of Manhattan—a multitalented man, in the Forbes mold, who could back in well enough to be known as Two Turns Jonas and could also unearth a moving poem on parking tickets for our premiere issue:

> The smalla the space the smalla the fella
> Sez my cop, who puts the green things
> Happy and stringy like angels' bright wings
> On the cars nearest the thingamajig
> Which can't be parked within fifteen feet of

Jonas and I no longer work steadily on *Beautiful Spot*, but naturally I like to keep a hand in. That's why a passage in the article on Malcolm Forbes caught my eye: "He had begun his working day seated beside the chauffeur-bodyguard in the leather seat of his bronze Maserati, which is equipped with a telephone, New York Press plates——" Stop right there! New York Press plates? Although *Beautiful Spot* did not deal with New York Press plates in its first issue, that subject was on our list of future stories, along with "Parking and the Jewish Question" and a polemic called "Let's Put the Park Back in Park Avenue." I bring the list of future stories up to date now and then, just in case our production difficulties clear up, and I have just put at the top of the list a piece to be called "What is Malcolm Forbes Doing With New York Press Plates?"

Is it possible that he covers those fast-breaking stories that require a reporter to screech to a halt in front of a burning building and leap out of his car, with no time to search for a parking spot? I tried to picture the action in the *Forbes* newsroom as word of a fire in a Bronx chicken-feather warehouse comes over the police radio, and Forbes is assigned the story by the gruff city editor (also named Forbes). "Forbes!" Forbes shouts. "Get on your roller skates and get out to that two-alarmer in the Bronx. If that joint burns down, the chicken-feather market's going to go through the roof and we'll have a scoop. If Max Fortune of *Fortune* beats you out there, don't bother to come back."

I should say right here that "Get on your roller skates" is a figure of speech, peculiar to city editors. A man who has a bronze Maserati with a chauffeur/bodyguard does not roller-skate to the Bronx. But wouldn't covering a fire present special problems for someone with a $3 million car? I can imagine some sooty spray falling dangerously near the Maserati as firemen desperately soak down the warehouse. The chauffeur/bodyguard instructs the fire department lieutenant in charge to redirect the hoses, using that turn of speech, peculiar to chauffeur/bodyguards: "Watch the paint job, creep."

So, as we say in the trade, I made a few calls. I asked a few questions. Why, for instance, are the stretches of curb reserved by "NYP Plates Only" signs so far from police headquarters and so convenient to the theater district? Do newspaper editors who leave their cars in Larchmont during business hours really need NYP spaces near midtown restaurants, where they like to spend long evenings congratulating one another on exposés of Congressmen who pull rank to bump decent folks off airplanes? It must be clear by now that the delay of *Beautiful Spot*'s second issue has not been caused by any lack of aggressive, hard-nosed reporting. We've had production difficulties.

Here is what I uncovered: The State Department of Motor Vehicles, which has nothing at all to do with the "NYP Plates Only" signs, certifies certain organizations as news-gathering organizations but leaves it to them to provide the names of those employees in need of NYP plates. (If the person who provides the list would rather include a police reporter in Queens than the man who pays his salary—fine.) The Bureau of Traffic Operations puts up the "NYP Plates Only" signs but has nothing to do with assigning the plates that make it possible to park in front of them. In other words, if you can find out precisely who is responsible for giving magazine publishers special parking privileges in New York, you can probably find out precisely who was responsible for involving this country in the Vietnam War—a war, I regret to say, which production difficulties caused *Beautiful Spot* to miss completely, much to the disappointment of readers who were looking forward to an article we had promised on the exotic parking meters of Hue.

Here is what worries me: When other influential people in New York realize that NYP plates have virtually nothing to do with gathering the news, they'll want special plates of their own. The garment industry will demand NYSB plates for designated schmatte barons, and that will bring a demand for NYRES plates from the real estate sharks. The average parker—*Beautiful Spot*'s loyal reader—will see all of these special plate signs going up as he circles the block again and again, looking for a spot. Malcolm Forbes will have nothing to worry about: he'll have his New York Big-time Collector plates and his New York Transcontinental Ballooner plates, among others. *Beautiful Spot* will do an article on his multifaceted parking life, as soon as our production difficulties are cleared up.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

THE TROUBLE AT 1199.

Hospital Workers, Heal Thyselves

JOSHUA B. FREEMAN

The National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees—better known as 1199—which has had a remarkable record of organizing, bargaining and participating in progressive politics, faces the most difficult moment in its history. Five months after its parent organization, the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (R.W.D.S.U.), proposed to revoke its status as an autonomous national entity, 1199 announced it was considering secession. According to secretary emeritus Moe Foner, the 140,000-member union will probably withdraw next month. A walkout would mean leaving the A.F.L.-C.I.O. as well, and that would be the most important defection from the House of Labor since the United Automobile Workers pulled out nearly two decades ago.

Intertwined with those developments is a bitter dispute within 1199. Doris Turner, head of the union's New York City district, which makes up half the membership, has allied with R.W.D.S.U. president Alvin Heaps against the national leadership. Turner has publicly stated that if 1199 secedes, the New York district will not go along. The unity that once characterized 1199 has been replaced by acrimony. So heated has the quarrel become that charges of racism have been exchanged between national headquarters and New York, and the district has been accused of anti-Semitism and Red-baiting.

The hospital workers union has long occupied a special place within the labor movement and the left. While most unions have stagnated, this one has grown. Over the past quarter-century, its members' blue-and-white caps have become a familiar sight at hundreds of hospitals, nursing homes and health facilities. The union's greatest success has been among those workers organized labor must attract if it is ever to regain its momentum: women, service employees, professionals, nonwhites. Today 1199 is one of the most powerful black-led institutions in America and a progressive force in the labor movement.

In the segment of the medical industry that is notorious for low pay, poor working conditions and unionbusting, 1199 has won wage increases, pensions, improved benefits and grievance procedures. Even management has shown grudging respect: a confidential memorandum issued in 1970 by a Pittsburgh hospital association said that 1199 "has demonstrated that it is one of the most militant—most demanding—most difficult unions in America to deal with."

Economic issues are only part of the story. The union has set up a training fund that has enabled thousands of workers to learn skills and move into more interesting and better-paying jobs. Bread and Roses, the union's much-acclaimed cultural program, produces plays, concerts and art exhibits with labor themes—the most important such effort since the Works Progress Administration. The union also sponsors 1199 Plaza, a cooperative housing project in East Harlem. It has been actively involved in the antinuclear and antiwar movements. In Hartford and Philadelphia it helped elect black mayors.

For the American left, which has few allies in the labor movement, 1199 has been a staunch friend, contributing money, political support, demonstrators, bodyguards and whatever else is needed. The left's legitimacy has been boosted by the union, and its constituency extended beyond white middle-class circles. The 1199 banner has been a familiar sight at demonstrations, be the issue civil rights or disarmament, apartheid or U.S. intervention in Central America.

Given all that, 1199's current difficulties have surprised and disturbed its supporters. Many accept the argument of the union's national leadership: Heaps and Turner are opportunists, willing to sacrifice 1199's organizational integrity for personal aggrandizement. Since neither of them will speak to the press, claiming publicity will only harm the union, that view has colored media accounts as well. Others see the dispute as political, a fight between the left (the national leadership) and center (Turner and Heaps). The situation is not that simple, however. For one thing, many workers support Turner. At the union's convention last December, she came close to winning the national presidency, with 46 percent of the vote. For another, while personalities are important, many of 1199's problems are structural and reflect the myriad strains progressive institutions face in conservative times.

In 1932, 1199 was founded as a left-wing union of drugstore workers in New York City. Shortly thereafter it joined the Congress of Industrial Organizations by affiliating with the R.W.D.S.U. Then as now, the parent union did little more than publish a newspaper; its diverse locals handled their own organizing, bargaining, research and administration.

In 1958, 1199 made an audacious move: it began organizing workers at the major New York nonprofit hospitals. At the time, state and Federal collective bargaining laws did not apply to most health care institutions, and employees were neither covered by the minimum wage law nor eligible for unemployment benefits. Many earned so little that they were forced to collect welfare payments while working full time. After two prolonged strikes, the union won recognition, better conditions and pay, and legislative protection. In the process, 1199 was transformed; most of the drugstore

Joshua B. Freeman is writing a history of the transport workers union.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

workers were white Jewish men, but most of the hospital workers were black or Hispanic women.

New York's 1199 went national in 1969, organizing mainly up and down the East Coast. Four years later the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees was set up as a division of the R.W.D.S.U. In 1199's case the R.W.D.S.U. waived three-quarters of the per capita assessment it formally requires of affiliates, so that the smaller union could continue organizing and providing other services. The number of votes 1199 had at national conventions and on the R.W.D.S.U.'s executive board was accordingly reduced. Today that situation prevails, even though 1199 has more members than all the other affiliates combined.

The union's internal upheaval began two years ago. After serving for a half-century as president of 1199 and of the New York district, Leon Davis retired. His posts were split between two veteran black unionists. Henry Nicholas, once a hospital orderly, took over the national presidency; Turner, a former dietary aide, became head of the New York district. Shortly before retiring as national president, Davis agreed on a tentative merger plan with John Sweeney, head of the Service Employees International Union. The S.E.I.U. has been 1199's main rival—although these days a friendly one—and represents a larger number of health care workers. By combining forces the two groups hoped to speed up organizing (over 80 percent of the nation's health care workers are not unionized). Most of the 1199 leadership, including Nicholas, supported the merger, and it was overwhelmingly approved by the members. Turner and several other New York leaders were opposed; they said they feared being swallowed up by the S.E.I.U. and complained of jurisdictional problems and insufficient rank-and-file involvement in the merger talks.

The merger never took place. Although initially Alvin Heaps was receptive to the plan, which would have joined his entire union with the service employees, in the spring of 1982 he changed his mind and killed the proposal. He also made sure that 1199 didn't merge on its own; he pushed the next R.W.D.S.U. convention to repeal a clause in the constitution that gave districts and locals the right to disaffiliate. Other constitutional changes made it easier for him to bypass local leaders and put their units into trusteeship.

Heaps, who is white, is a classic business unionist. Over the years he had been content to leave his affiliates alone so long as he collected their per capita payments. He has never publicly discussed his reasons for opposing the S.E.I.U. merger. Some speculate that a letter-bomb attack that put Heaps in the hospital might have played a part (the case remains murky). Perhaps Heaps simply decided that he would rather not give up the prerogatives that come with heading a union.

In any case, the disagreements that began over the merger have escalated into a full-scale, multifront war. Last October, Heaps announced his intention to restructure the R.W.D.S.U., all but eliminating 1199 as a national organization; its districts would simply become R.W.D.S.U. locals. Heaps called the current arrangement "a two-headed monster" and argued that services were being needlessly duplicated. When Nicholas and other 1199 leaders protested, Heaps tried to put their union into trusteeship. In the court battle that followed, which Heaps lost, Turner supported him. For the public, and many union members, that was the first indication that 1199 itself was divided.

Last December's convention was tense and fractious. In a close vote, the national leadership won authorization to seek guarantees of autonomy from the R.W.D.S.U. and, if that failed, to explore alternatives. The union's constitution was amended to empower its executive board to break from the R.W.D.S.U. and affiliate elsewhere. The national leadership also copied one of Heaps's tactics, amending the constitution to facilitate placing districts into trusteeship. Most of the New York delegates opposed those moves, while the other delegates supported them. After Nicholas defeated Turner for the presidency, she was re-elected national secretary without opposition. When Leon Davis, who has stood behind the national, addressed the meeting, the bulk of the New York delegation walked out.

All subsequent efforts at compromise have failed. Heaps has stuck to his plan to restructure the union. According to union insiders, a special R.W.D.S.U. convention for that purpose will soon be scheduled. On February 20, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. executive council unanimously rejected 1199's request for a separate international charter and declined to intervene.

For many, the most puzzling and troubling aspect of the whole affair has been the fierce struggle inside 1199 once the merger was abandoned. Those unionists willing to talk about it are extremely cautious, fearing reprisals or sharing the general concern within the union that undue discussion will hurt organizing and deepen the gulf. Nevertheless, interviews with nearly a dozen people close to the situation point to several reasons for the contention.

Most broadly, the political environment within which 1199 operates has radically changed since it began organizing hospital workers. Its expansion was the product of a coalition that emerged in the late 1950s: old leftists and white liberals (largely Jewish), segments of the labor movement and working-class blacks. The growth of the union was part and parcel of the civil rights movement. Black leaders from Martin Luther King Jr. to Whitney Young to Malcolm X provided vital support. (Coretta Scott King is still the union's honorary chair.) The A.F.L.-C.I.O., through its New York Central Labor Council, gave financial and political backing. Above all, the union depended on the willingness of older white workers, led by veteran leftists, and young, underpaid blacks and Hispanics to work together.

New York City's 1968 teachers' strike revealed the fragility of the civil rights coalition. Affirmative action, urban riots, assassinations and growing Jewish identification with Israel pulled labor, the black movement and white liberals in different directions. It is a testament to the dedication and tolerance of 1199's membership that the union grew and prospered even as the coalition that nurtured it unraveled.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But 1199 was not untouched by the splintering of liberalism.

Race, for example, is a sensitive issue within the union; some say it is central to the current dispute. The transition to black leadership was carefully planned—if somewhat prolonged—but each side now charges the other with racism. The Nicholas group argues that if Heaps's plan goes through, the largest black-led union in the country will be dissolved. Some Turner supporters used the same argument against the S.E.I.U. merger and now accuse 1199's national leadership, which includes many whites, of being unable to tolerate a strong black woman leader. Privately, several 1199 organizers claim that occasional anti-Semitic remarks have been heard at New York headquarters, perhaps out of resentment over the long wait for the old-guard leadership to retire. Others vehemently deny the charge. Not surprisingly, Leon Davis, who had endorsed both his successors, is distressed about how things have turned out. Although he thinks Nicholas has "all the stuff of leadership," of Turner he says, "I'm entitled to my mistakes."

Nicholas and Turner represent different styles of leadership. Nicholas has carried on the Davis tradition of geographic and occupational expansion. The aborted S.E.I.U. merger was in accordance with that strategy. Under Nicholas, 1199 has maintained close alliances with a variety of left-liberal groups. Turner's concerns seem more parochial, aimed at preserving a hard-won personal and institutional power base. More racially assertive, she is nonetheless willing to make pragmatic arrangements with white leaders.

The differences between the national and the New York groups are evident in their organizing strategies. In New York the union has concentrated on home-care workers, the worst-paid in the industry, most of whom are women and nonwhite. (The S.E.I.U. has also organized energetically in that area.) Outside New York, the drive focuses on everyone from janitors to technicians to registered nurses.

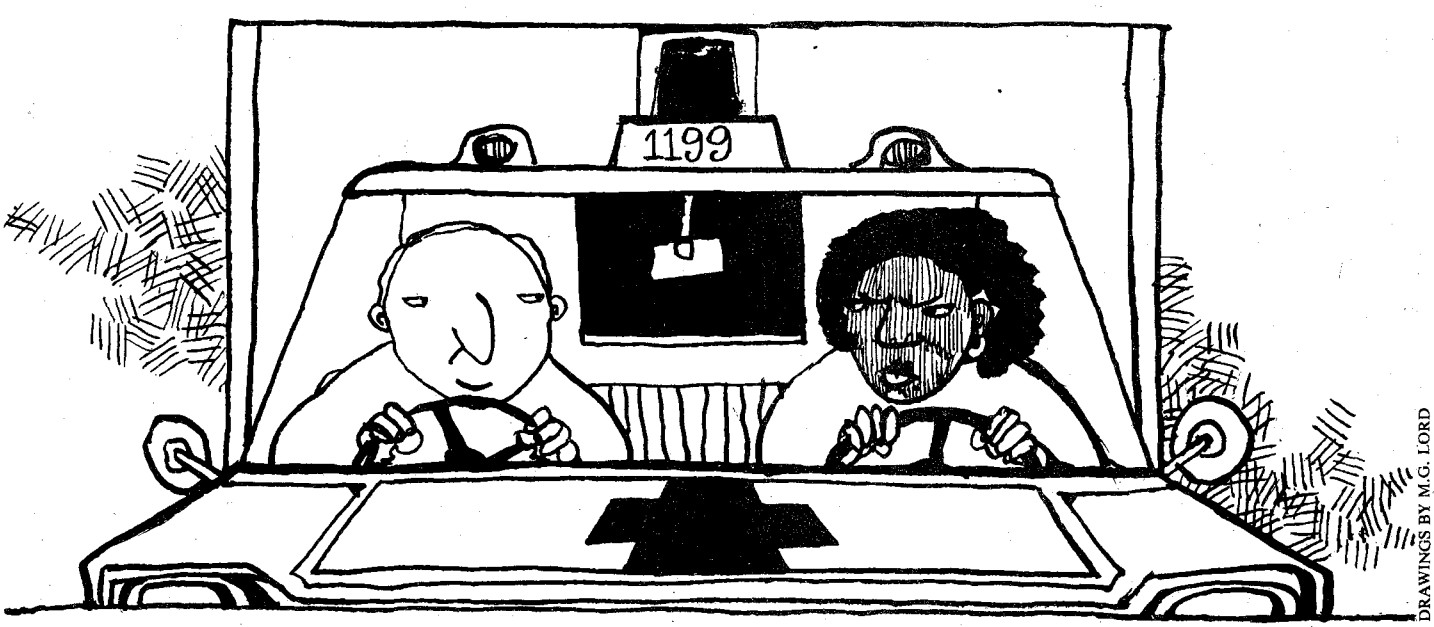
Like Davis before her, Turner is a strong-willed leader. She is an eloquent speaker and a tireless worker, who tolerates little criticism. Many New York staff members have been fired or transferred, and some claim there is an atmosphere of intimidation at union meetings. Often, Turner frames issues in terms of personal loyalty. Over the course of two years, she has won firm control over her district's bureaucratic machinery.

Next month, when district elections are held, it will become clear how many rank-and-filers support Turner's course. Joe Franklin, until recently a vice president of both the national and the New York district, is planning to lead a slate against her. But Turner has a strong core of backers. Many workers, particularly in lower-paid hospital positions, admire her rise from a dead-end job to the top of the largest unit in the union. When she is attacked, at least some union members see it as an attack on themselves.

Even Franklin admits that in New York, Nicholas "does not enjoy the recognition or popularity of a Doris Turner." Although Nicholas was a pioneer in the union's expansion into New York City hospitals, he spent years working on organizing drives out of town. After stints in Baltimore and in Charleston, South Carolina, he took the lead in building the union's 10,000-member Philadelphia district, which he still heads.

Success has produced some of 1199's problems. There are more unionized hospital workers in New York than anywhere in the country. Joining the union there is more and more a byproduct of getting a job at a unionized facility. Elsewhere, a higher percentage of the membership comes in through new organizing. In those areas where the union is weak, continued expansion is often a matter of survival. As the other districts grow, the dominance of the New York district diminishes, along with the power of its leadership. Growth has also meant greater 1199 influence within the R.W.D.S.U. While everyone welcomes growth, the shifts in power breed tension.

Black unionists face difficult choices. The recession has hit them especially hard, and they must also deal with an antiunion climate and a labor movement in which top-level black leaders are still a rarity. Some say their best course



DRAWINGS BY M.G. LORD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'WERE THE ROSENBERGS FRAMED?'

This historic debate, which was sponsored by The Nation and The New Republic at New York City's Town Hall last October 20th, has been described as "a political-literary brawl" (Los Angeles Times), at which "a cheering, jeering crowd of 1,500 followed every jab in a fight over history" (The Washington Post).

The main participants in the debate were: Walter Schneir and Miriam Schneir, authors, Invitation to an Inquest; Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton, authors, and Sol Stern, research assistant, The Rosenberg File: A Search for the Truth; and Elizabeth Holtzman, moderator. There were also questions and comments from Michael Meeropol, Morton Sobell, Marshall Perlin, James Weinstein, Victor Navasky and others.

A complete record of this extraordinary event can now be purchased in transcript or cassette. Transcripts are available for $24 each; cassettes are $19 each. There are special discounts on orders of five or more. Send check or money order, payable to The Nation, to: "Rosenbergs," The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011 (a project of The Nation Institute).

COME SEE
A NEW SOCIETY IN THE MAKING

VISIT NICARAGUA

TROPICAL TOURS' NICARAGUAN SOCIO-POLITICAL PROGRAM

May 13-27 – $845
(Carnival in Bluefields)

June 17-27 – $700
July 8-22 – $880
July 15-25 – $745
$825 – July 17-29
$845 – August 5-19
$700 – August 19-29

Come celebrate July 19, the fifth anniversary of the revolution

All prices include round trip air fare from Miami, three meals a day, hotel accommodations, bilingual guides, and transportation inside Nicaragua.

As the travel agency for the International Work Brigades in Nicaragua, Tropical Tours makes all travel arrangements for individual groups.

For details, contact:
TROPICAL TOURS
141 East 44th St., Suite 409
New York, NY 10017
(212) 599-1441

is to strengthen ties to mainstream labor and organize wherever they can. That means backing the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s political strategy, including lending all-out support to Walter Mondale this year. Others would rather protect what they have already won by making any deals that are necessary, while building coalitions in the black community with groups that sometimes have agendas quite different from the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s. (Turner recently invited Jesse Jackson to address an 1199 gathering, although most of the union's national leaders have endorsed Mondale.)

Many 1199 members are unaware of the complex maneuvers taking place within their union, and most are as yet unaffected. A nurse at a major Manhattan hospital said that the big issue among workers on her night shift is the definition of a weekend (Is it Friday and Saturday nights or Saturday and Sunday?) not Nicholas versus Turner, or 1199 versus the R.W.D.S.U. Nonetheless, the infighting has taken its toll. During recent organizing drives, employers have publicized Heaps's intention to dissolve 1199, hoping it will discourage workers from joining; in at least one case that tactic might have contributed to a union defeat. Union programs have become factional pawns; in New York, for instance, Bread and Roses has been all but abandoned because it is identified with the national leadership. Some claim that staff turnover caused by politically motivated transfers, dismissals and resignations has undermined the quality of representation in New York as well. Money and energy that could better be expended elsewhere are going into the fight.

Unless Heaps backs down from his reorganization plan, 1199 will almost certainly try to leave the R.W.D.S.U., and the conflict will probably end up in court. So may the argument over the status of 1199's New York district. At the union's December convention Turner told Nicholas and his followers, "If you think you're going to free this national union from R.W.D.S.U., I'm going to be no less insistent that you free us." Even if 1199 stays together, current tensions may persist; as Leon Davis said, "Once things start going wrong, they're hard to stop."

If 1199 leaves the A.F.L.-C.I.O., there will be a price. The union's ability to organize might be hampered and its political alliances strained. Its membership could be raided by unions currently held in check by the federation's no-raiding rule. Although both 1199 and S.E.I.U. leaders indicate that given the proper circumstances they still would be interested in merging, under A.F.L.-C.I.O. rules, that would be impossible for five years. Nevertheless, Moe Foner is confident that the negative effects of leaving the A.F.L.-C.I.O. would be limited and that organizing successes would continue.

In one form or another, 1199 will survive. The union means too much to its members, and leaders on both sides are tough and committed. Will the union be reconciled, with its old character intact? Davis is "not optimistic." Years of reaction and recession take a tremendous toll on even the most idealistic institutions. Still, the people in 1199 have accomplished the seemingly impossible before. Who knows what they may do in the future? □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DELABELING ASPIRIN

The O.M.B. Writes A Prescription

TIM MILLER

In June 1982, Secretary of Health and Human Services Richard S. Schweiker announced that his department would require aspirin manufacturers to attach labels to their products indicating a possible association between aspirin use and a rare but deadly childhood disease. The medication, Schweiker said, "has been sufficiently associated with Reye's syndrome to warrant warning physicians and parents." Five months later, Schweiker withdrew the rule for further study, saying that "new government-supported studies are necessary to help resolve a scientific dispute over the reported link."

What caused Schweiker's abrupt turnaround? The labeling requirement was the victim of a powerful behind-the-scenes player in the Reagan Administration's regulatory team: the Office of Management and Budget. By dint of an executive order issued weeks after President Reagan took office, the O.M.B. was given the de facto authority to veto rules whose costs would exceed the benefits they were intended to bring about. Before the Reagan era, the O.M.B. acted largely as an adviser in the regulatory process.

The O.M.B. has not shrunk from its new duties. It has delayed, weakened or killed dozens of rules, including those that deal with auto safety, workplace noise reduction, grain elevator dust hazards, and air and water quality. Claiming that Federal regulations raise prices and production costs without benefiting the public, the O.M.B. has consistently sided with industry.

Still, the aspirin labeling requirement appeared to be unobjectionable. Each year Reye's syndrome strikes from 600 to 1,200 children while they are recuperating from viral diseases like influenza and chicken pox. About a third of those children die and many of the survivors are left with brain damage. The most convincing evidence of a link between aspirin and the disease comes from four studies conducted between 1978 and 1981 by the state health departments of Ohio, Michigan and Arizona. The Ohio study indicates that children who fell victim to Reye's syndrome were ten times as likely to have taken aspirin as those who did not come down with the illness.

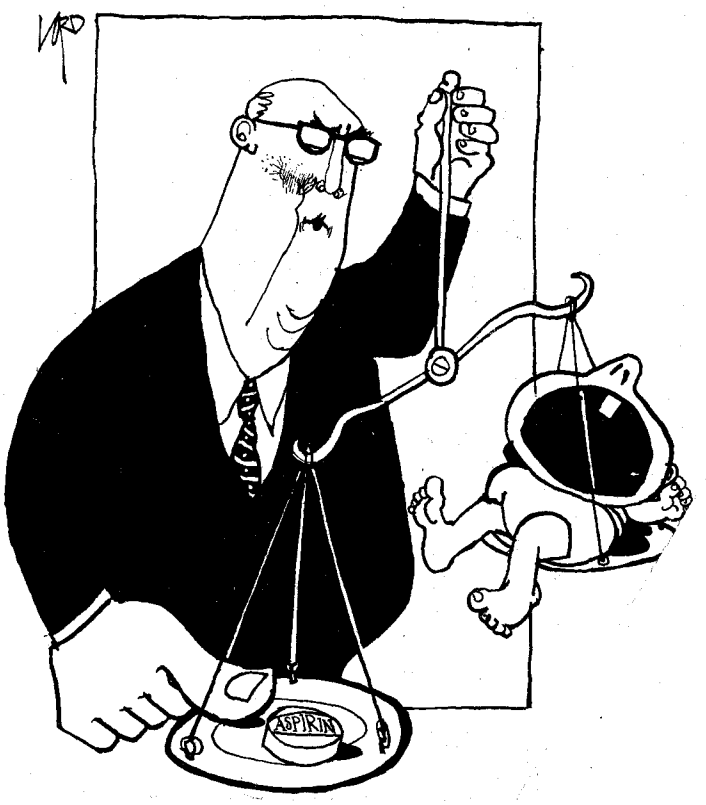
The studies were reviewed by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta, the Food and Drug Administration and a scientific committee of the American Academy of Pediatrics. They joined Surgeon General C. Everett Koop in urging the government to give parents and physicians some form of warning about the potential dangers of aspirin.

Aspirin manufacturers also found the studies troubling, but for different reasons. They estimated the industry could lose $100 million in sales if they were required to put a warning label on bottles, and they fought hard against the rule while it was being prepared at the F.D.A. They also argued that the evidence associating aspirin with Reye's syndrome was weak and commissioned an analysis of the data by Biometric Research Institute, in Arlington, Virginia. The study concluded there was no relationship between aspirin and Reye's syndrome, but F.D.A. and O.M.B. statisticians rejected its conclusions.

The drug makers also claimed that publicizing the aspirin-Reye's syndrome connection would actually be harmful to children. A Boston-based lobbying group for the industry, the Committee on the Care of Children, argued that the proposed label would "result in aspirin being withheld from children whose medical conditions indicate aspirin as the treatment of choice."

Then the Aspirin Foundation joined the fight. After Schweiker announced that he had approved the rule, foundation chairman Joseph M. White consulted his attorneys and learned of the O.M.B.'s veto power. He had one more shot to avert the rule. Five foundation representatives met one evening at O.M.B. headquarters with James J. Tozzi, deputy administrator of O.M.B.'s Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs. They gave Tozzi the name of a physician opposed to the label, to whom Tozzi later spoke at length and whose views, Tozzi told me, greatly influenced him.

In the meantime, O.M.B. statisticians confirmed the significance of the relationship between aspirin use and Reye's syndrome, and passed their findings on to Christopher DeMuth, Tozzi's boss, who had to make the final decision on the labeling rule. Then C. Boyden Gray, counsel to the



Tim Miller is a freelance writer based in Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Alexander Cockburn on the PRESS.
Andrew Kopkind on the NEW COLD WAR.
Stephen F. Cohen on the SOVIET UNION.
Katha Pollitt on the MOVIES.
Christopher Hitchens on WASHINGTON.
Bird and Holland on GLOBAL POLITICS.
Calvin Trillin on UNCIVIL LIBERTIES.

The voices of dissent speak out in THE NATION.

The Reagan Administration is no longer funny; what it's doing to the country, and the world, is very serious. The voices of dissent must speak out. And the best place to hear them is in *The Nation.*

The Nation has been questioning the abuses of power for 119 years. And there has never been a greater need for it than now. *The Nation* conducts its own investigations, reports the kind of news Jeane Kirkpatrick and Jerry Falwell don't release through the national wire services, and serves as the forum for the leading voices of dissent on the critical issues of our time.

If you think these voices are important, join your voice to theirs and subscribe to *The Nation.* There's a reduced introductory rate for you. And as a gift for friends, too.

Add your voice to ours.
Special Introductory Rate.

THE NATION
P.O. BOX 1953, MARION, OH 43305

YES!!! Send me 24 issues of *The Nation* for $12, a savings of 60 percent off the newsstand price and 30 percent off the regular subscription price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

☐ My payment is enclosed – reward me with FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!
☐ Please bill me later.

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)
ADDRESS
CITY STATE ZIP D8412 N

SEND *THE NATION* TO A FRIEND! (And save $3.)

Please send 24 issues of *The Nation* to the following people at the special gift rate of just $12 for the first and $9 for each additional gift. And send a card announcing the subscription(s).

GIFT TO
ADDRESS
CITY STATE ZIP

☐ Enclosed is $_____ for _____ subscription(s). (Extend each subscription FOUR FREE ISSUES.)
☐ Bill me later.

Add $3.50 postage for subscriptions in Canada and Mexico, $6.50 for other foreign countries. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds. D8412

President's Task Force on Regulatory Relief, assigned Denis J. Prager of the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy to study the rule. After consulting with experts for two weeks, Prager wrote DeMuth and Gray: "I find the [labeling] decision to be a prudent public health action and would only support negotiations with H.H.S. to make the warning label less unequivocal."

Tozzi, a self-described skeptic of regulation, also summarized his findings in a memorandum to DeMuth. He cited the industry study in his attempt to refute the aspirin-Reye's syndrome link, although he admitted that the risk "remains statistically significant." Attached to the memorandum was an article from *The Wall Street Journal*'s Op-Ed page by Jonah Shacknai, a counsel to the House Subcommittee on Natural Resources, Agriculture Research and Environment, a panel which had been critical of the label rule. Warn parents of the aspirin dangers, Shacknai argued, and they may "treat Reye's as a preventable illness and, consequently, will be less alert to its symptoms; parents and even some physicians may think that the disease cannot occur without aspirin use." A week after the article was published, Shacknai began working as a lobbyist for eleven pharmaceutical companies, several of which make aspirin, and for the American Reye's Syndrome Association, an information-oriented group which receives money from the makers of Bayer aspirin.

In early November, DeMuth telephoned Schweiker and suggested that he withdraw the rule. If the Secretary had not done so, the O.M.B. probably would have vetoed it. DeMuth told me his decision was based on conversations with his wife, who is a pediatrician; on arguments in Shacknai's article; and on Congressional testimony orchestrated in late September by Shacknai, who selected a panel of witnesses that was stacked six to two against the aspirin-Reye's syndrome link.

One of the witnesses at Shacknai's hearing was Edward N. Brandt Jr., head of H.H.S.'s Public Health Service. "We simply cannot ignore significant evidence of a potential health hazard and defer regulatory action while waiting for absolute scientific proof," he testified.

On November 9, several days after DeMuth phoned Schweiker, the executive board of the American Academy of Pediatrics held a hastily arranged telephone conference and, without consulting its scientific committee, which had favored some sort of warning, issued a statement recommending against the label. An A.A.P. official phoned Presidential task force counsel Gray with the news. According to Dr. Edward A. Mortimer, a member of the A.A.P. scientific committee, the reversal came in response to "heavy pressure from certain members of the academy who were recruited by the aspirin industry." Mortimer and the committee's chairman resigned in protest.

Nevertheless, when Schweiker announced he was withdrawing the rule, nine days later, he cited the A.A.P. statement as the basis for his decision. "This is the first time concerns have been raised by an independent scientific body, and it is critical that they be resolved," he said. The day after Schweiker's decision, the academy's executive board

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

apparently had second thoughts. It issued a statement, revising its blanket antilabeling position to say only that existing labels should delete the word "flu" from the list of illnesses treatable by aspirin.

The Department of Health and Human Services is planning further studies into the aspirin-Reye's syndrome link, research which officials estimate will be completed in three to four years. The F.D.A. tried to continue a warning campaign through pamphlets and public service announcements, but in late November the aspirin makers succeeded in halting distribution of a half-million copies of the pamphlets. Subsequently, the F.D.A. toned down its stand on the possible tie between aspirin and Reye's syndrome, and a pamphlet reflecting that change is being distributed.

But the broader label warning is dead, and at least one O.M.B. official agrees that his agency dealt the *coup de grâce*. "Without O.M.B.'s involvement, the rule would have gone out," says Tozzi, now a private consultant. "Everybody knew it would never get past those mongrels at O.M.B."

The "mongrels" at the O.M.B. say they are simply watchdogs, guarding the people against overzealous regulators. Few would quarrel with the premise that we need regulatory review. But to what extent are O.M.B. generalists qualified to make changes in rules dealing with medicines and health?

C. Boyden Gray, who drafted most of the executive order that made the O.M.B. a kind of in camera Supreme Court of the regulatory process, offers this comment: "O.M.B. has the expertise to ask good questions." The story of the aspirin labeling rule makes one wish that the O.M.B. had confined itself to that role. □

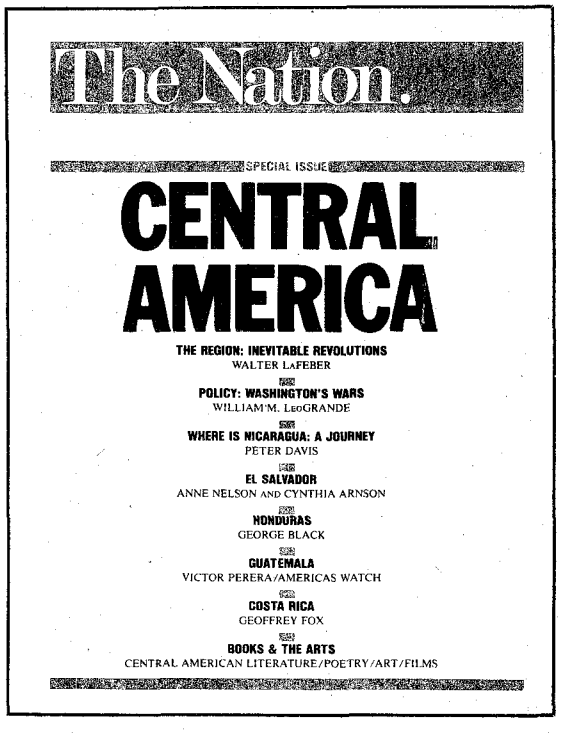
Two Elections

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

tion required a certain amount of complementary suppression and lying: for example, downplaying the fact that the main reason for holding the election was to influence public opinion in the United States, that the rebels could not and were not meant to participate, that voting was required by law and enforced by explicit threats and that years of repression and state terror had created a climate of fear incompatible with free elections. The staging of the Salvadoran election for U.S. domestic consumption also required that official observers be dispatched to the scene on election day and shunted from one polling station to the next to witness the long lines of happy voters. The observers could then testify to the fairness of the election and to the emotions aroused by the sight of streams of peasants determined to record their votes for peace and democracy in defiance of sinister rebel threats. The mass media reported those observations as meaningful for evaluating the election in accordance

Edward S. Herman is co-author, with Frank Brodhead, of Demonstration Elections: U.S.-Staged Elections in the Dominican Republic, Vietnam, and El Salvador, *published last month by South End Press.*

LAST CHANCE TO ORDER AT DISCOUNT BULK RATES!



This Special Issue of The Nation has sold over 10,000 copies in bulk since its publication on January 28. **Due to the overwhelming response, we are extending our special rates for bulk orders until March 31.** Don't miss this crucial, landmark issue: it is ideal for classroom use, for distribution to the membership of your organization or for passing along to friends. Send in the attached coupon for your bulk order today.

Bulk Order Price List

1-9 copies . . . . . $3.00 each
10-99 copies . . . . $1.00 each
100-499 copies . . $ .75 each
500 or more copies $ .50 each

Prepayment is required (price includes postage).

Send me _____ copies of The Nation Special Issue on Central America. I enclose $_____ payment in full.*

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone # _____

* Mail check or money order to Nation Bulk Sales, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (U.S. currency only. N.Y. State residents must add appropriate sales tax, N.Y. City 8¼ percent).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with the dramatic and symbolic framework.

The Nicaraguan elections are framed differently. There the U.S. government and the media focus on the hidden motives of the Sandinistas. They are said to be using elections to placate their critics at home and abroad, not to move toward democracy. In El Salvador, the rebels' refusal to participate in the election demonstrates an unwillingness to test their popularity in a fair vote. For Nicaragua the question is, Will the dissidents be allowed and encouraged to run or will the Sandinistas put obstacles in their way? A March 17 article in *The New York Times*, "Foes of Sandinistas Call Voting Law Unfair," provided generous space for attacks on the reduction of the voting age, the limits on opposition radio time and other features of what is repeatedly described by critics as "an electoral farce." One week before the Salvadoran election there had been no article of comparable scope or tone in *The Times* on electoral conditions in El Salvador. As of March 17, also, the leading U.S. newspapers and network TV had never mentioned that Salvadoran electoral law calls explicitly for "transparent voting urns" and allows security forces access to the polling stations.

In Brazil on February 5, Secretary of State George Shultz commented on the prospective elections in Nicaragua: "The important thing is that if there is to be an electoral process, it be observed not only at the moment when people vote, but in all the preliminary aspects that make an election really mean something." In considering the Nicaraguan elections Shultz not only emphasized those "preliminary aspects," he also derided the notion that an intelligent assessment of the fairness of an election can be made from observations at polling stations. Yet the U.S. government and the media based their evaluation of the 1982 Salvadoran election almost entirely on such observations.

Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on February 22, Shultz suggested that for elections to be democratic, "rival political groups" must be allowed "to form themselves and have access to people, to have the right of assembly, to have access to the media." He was referring to Nicaragua. Neither Congress nor the press has yet asked Shultz whether the "preliminary aspects" so relevant to Nicaragua were met in El Salvador. This is a well-nigh perfect case of Orwellian doublethink: to forget a criterion "that has become inconvenient, and then, when it becomes necessary again, to draw it back from oblivion for just so long as it is needed."

Not one of Shultz's basic conditions for a free election was met in El Salvador in 1982 or this year. By law and systematic repression there is no freedom of speech or assembly; there is no freedom of the press (the two independent newspapers were closed by state violence, and more than two dozen journalists have been killed since 1979); labor unions, peasant associations and other popular groups have been forced out of existence on a scale vastly exceeding anything in "totalitarian" Nicaragua; 138 top leaders of the center and the left were put on an armed forces death list in March 1981, and scores of politicians have been killed. The forces of state terror are large and active.

The Salvadoran election of 1982 took place in "mid-holocaust": an average of at least 700 civilians had been murdered by the security forces each month in the thirty months preceding the election. The table below spells out some of the gruesome data; the column on the right translates the numbers into their U.S. equivalents. Imagine an election in the United States following the murder of almost 1,000 Democratic Party politicians, 5,000 labor leaders, 1,200 journalists and a million-odd other citizens. The table does not account for refugees, whose U.S. equivalents would number over 30 million.

Secretary Shultz has, in his way, performed a service by raising questions about the superficiality of focusing on election-day events and disregarding the "preliminary aspects" that make elections meaningful—or meaningless. He provided an implicit—and devastating—critique of media coverage of El Salvador in 1982. Again this year the press and the government have concentrated on election-day hype in El Salvador and raised basic questions only about the elections in Nicaragua. This is doublethink in the service of a double standard. □

Clearing the Ground for a Free Election
Political Murders by the Security Forces in El Salvador, October 1979–March 1982

Class of Victim	Number of Murders	U.S. Equivalent
Political Leaders		
a. Christian Democratic Party officials	20 +	900 +
b. Democratic Revolutionary Front officials	6 +	270 +
Labor Leaders		
a. Salvadoran Communal Union officials	83–92	3,735–4,140
b. Agrarian Reform Institute (ISTA) employees	40	1,800
c. Trade union leaders	Not Available	Not Available
Human Rights Workers		
a. Oxfam staff	17	765
b. El Salvador Commission on Human Rights staff	3	135
Clergy and Religious Workers	25	1,125
Students	1,090	49,050
Teachers	224	10,080
Journalists	26	1,170
Peasants, Workers and "Others"	21,453–30,000 (minus the total of the above)	965,385–1,350,000 (minus the total of the above)

Source: Edward S. Herman and Frank Brodhead, *Demonstration Elections: U.S.-Staged Elections in the Dominican Republic, Vietnam, and El Salvador*, South End Press, p. 123 (detailed sources provided in text). U.S. equivalents are based on a 1982 population forty-five times the size of El Salvador's.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORLISS LAMONT AT 82

Active as ever, writing, fighting for civil liberties, the philosophy of humanism, international peace and the general welfare.

Dr. Lamont's available books:

THE PHILOSOPHY OF HUMANISM
Sixth edition, Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 36 Cooper Square, New York, NY 10003
$15.95 Cloth, $9.95 Paper

THE ILLUSION OF IMMORTALITY
Fourth edition, Ungar (see address above)
$6.95 Paper

YES TO LIFE: MEMOIRS OF CORLISS LAMONT
Illustrated, Horizon Press, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010
$14.95 Cloth

FREEDOM IS AS FREEDOM DOES: CIVIL LIBERTIES IN AMERICA
Third edition, with Foreword by Bertrand Russell and Epilogue by Corliss Lamont, Horizon (see address above)
$5.95 Paper

FREEDOM OF CHOICE AFFIRMED
Horizon (see address above)
$4.95 Paper

DIALOGUE ON JOHN DEWEY (Editor)
Horizon (see address above)
$4.95 Paper

DIALOGUE ON GEORGE SANTAYANA (Editor)
Horizon (see address above)
$4.95 Paper

A HUMANIST FUNERAL SERVICE
Third Edition, Prometheus Books, 700 East Amherst Street, Buffalo, NY 14215
$5.95 Paper

A HUMANIST WEDDING SERVICE
Third Edition, Prometheus (see address above)
$3.95 Paper

VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS: COLLECTED ESSAYS OF FIFTY YEARS
Prometheus (see address above)
$13.95 Cloth, $5.95 Paper

LOVER'S CREDO: POEMS OF LOVE
Second revised edition, William L. Bauhan Publisher, Dublin, NH 03444
$4.95 Paper

MAN ANSWERS DEATH: AN ANTHOLOGY OF POETRY (Editor)
Fellowship of Religious Humanists, Box 278, Yellow Springs, OH 45387
$5 Cloth

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nation Reprint Mart.

Latin America: A Political Guide.
An invaluable survey of thirty-three Latin American countries by Penny Lernoux, *The Nation*'s award-winning Latin American correspondent.

A Letter to America.
The Nation January Inauguration issue was devoted entirely to E.P. Thompson's compelling essay on the clear and present danger of nuclear war.

Intervention.
Under what conditions, if any, is military (or other) intervention ever justified? Ar entire issue of *The Nation* on the subject of intervention contains the papers presented at a Conference on Intervention, co-sponsored by *The Nation* and the Columbia University School of International Affairs.

END and the "Peace Offensive."
Warning that the peace movement must not be caught "sleepwalking," E.P. Thompson outlines the dangers of the Soviet "peace offensive," and urges the movement to eschew the seductions of both superpowers. Also included is a lively exchange of letters between Thompson and Norman Solomon, co-author of "Killing Our Own," debating the controversial issues raised by Thompson's brilliant essay.

Empire as a Way of Life.
William Appleman Williams' brilliant analysis of America's life with an empire—and the implications of life without one—was the focus of this special issue that was distributed to the delegates at the 1980 Democratic National Convention.

The Selling of Japan.
From every quarter American business is urged to adopt some feature of Japan's stunningly successful economic model. But is this model applicable to the United States? What are the implications of Japanese solutions to the problems of American business? This issue opens up and expands the "Japan debate," while shattering some of the myths about the Japanese economic system now in circulation.

Feminist Books.
Today, an exciting new feminist scholarship is re-evaluating a host of subjects from sexuality to the history of socialism to coeducation. This special issue offers an up-to-date sampling of recent offerings in a field that is more lively, contradictory and urgent than ever.

Myths of the Middle East.
This special issue of *The Nation* is devoted to breaking the logomachy jam in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by subjecting the emotion-sodden rhetoric that weighs down current thinking to a blast of fresh ideas.

Nuclear Samizdat.
What do Russians think about the nuclear arms race? Two prominent Marxist dissidents, historian Roy A. Medvedev and biologist Zhores A. Medvedev, provide the unofficial viewpoint with a clarity rarely found in the American press.

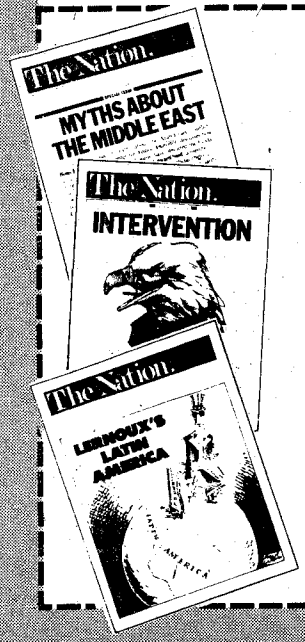
El Salvador.
A compilation of *Nation* articles on Central America and El Salvador, including an early debunking of the famed "White Paper" by James Petras.

Disarmament: Covering the Unthinkable.
In this special issue Richard Pollak takes a critical look at the media coverage of the indisputably most important issue facing mankind; Michael Kazin gives a brief history of the birth of the freeze movement; and David Corn presents a useful directory of organizations working on the disarmament issue.

The New Arms Technology.
From the catapult to particle beam weapons, the engineering of death has concentrated more attention and resources than any other human endeavor. Nine leading experts explore and explain the latest arms technology—both "conventional" and nuclear—and trace the political decisions which have led us closer to Armageddon than ever before.

The Campaign to Smear the Nuclear Freeze Movement.
Frank Donner offers a provocative analysis and thorough documentation of the outrageous attempts by right wingers in media, Congress and the Administration to discredit the nuclear freeze movement, charging that it is inspired and manipulated by the Soviet Union.

Back Issues of The Nation.
Back issues are $3.00 each. This includes postage and handling. (There is limited availability on some back issues.)



THE NATION REPRINT MART ORDER FORM

REPRINTS (each title)	Qty.	Name	Total
1-9: $3.00 ea. 10-49: $1.50 ea. 50-99: $1.00 ea. 100-499: $ .75 ea. 500 or more: $ .50 ea.			
BACK ISSUES $3.00 each		Date	
		Date	

SEND TO:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

N.Y. residents add appropriate sales tax _____

Total Enclosed _____

Mail check or money order to The Nation Reprint Mart, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. **Prepayment is required. (U.S. currency only.)**

NR8412

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

From Garvey to Jackson

CLAYBORNE CARSON

THE MARCUS GARVEY AND UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION PAPERS. *Edited by Robert A. Hill. University of California Press. Volume I: 1826–August 1919. 579 pp. Volume II: 27 August 1919–31 August 1920. 710 pp. $38.50 each.*

The most common misconceptions about black politics stem from the supposed division of black political thought into mutually exclusive nationalist and integrationist tendencies. Although the dichotomy helps us understand some of the points of contention among black leaders, it obscures the important common assumptions and vocabulary unifying Afro-American political history.

If we abandon the view that black political thought has developed along two separate historical lines, we can see the ideological continuities that link the pioneering protest leader Frederick Douglass and the pre-eminent accommodationist Booker T. Washington, or Washington and the prototypical black nationalist Marcus Garvey, or even Garvey and Presidential candidate Jesse Jackson. It may be difficult for some to connect Garvey with Jackson, because the former is usually identified as the leader of a back-to-Africa movement while the latter presents himself as a symbol of blacks' entry into mainstream politics. Yet the simplistic notion that there is a vast historical and ideological gulf between them is based on a misreading of the historical significance of both Garvey's movement and Jackson's campaign.

Black nationalism is usually seen as a recurrent, extreme departure from the political mainstream rather than as a continuing manifestation of cultural distinctiveness. In part, that mistaken view is a product of the racial controversies of the 1960s and the adoption during that decade of black nationalist ideas by militant activists. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, it became apparent that black nationalism was a complex tradition with conservative as well as radical undercurrents.

Misconceptions about black nationalism have been especially evident in the literature on Marcus Garvey, a gifted orator and organizer whose meteoric career displayed many facets of the black nationalist tradition. Arriving in New York City in 1916 with the modest goal of raising money for an industrial school in his native Jamaica, Garvey was caught up in the militancy of the years after World War I, when many blacks refused to endure the widespread racial violence that culminated in the riots of 1919. Other leaders, such as A. Philip Randolph in *The Messenger* and W.E.B. DuBois in *The Crisis*, spoke out against racial injustice, but none attracted as much organized support. By the early 1920s, Garvey would later boast, his Universal Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.) had "enrolled more members throughout the world than almost all other Negro organizations put together."

In recent years, Garvey has been at the center of a debate between historians who see black nationalism as a militant tradition and those who argue that its rhetoric conceals accommodationist or conservative attitudes. The case for Garvey's militancy, and his contemporary relevance, was presented most forcefully in Theodore Vincent's *Black Power and the Garvey Movement* and Tony Martin's *Race First*. In contrast, Wilson Moses' *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850–1925* portrayed Garvey's movement as the culmination of a nationalist tradition stressing racial uplift through the adoption of the Protestant work ethic and Victorian moral virtues rather than the rejection of dominant white values.

The new literature about black nationalism has been provocative, but until the publication of *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers*, many of the documents necessary for a full assessment of Garvey's thought or of his movement's significance have not been easily accessible. Robert A. Hill and his staff, which includes Garvey scholar Emory Tolbert, have gathered over 30,000 documents from libraries and other sources in many countries. More than a collection of Garvey's writings, these two volumes (to be followed by eight more) redefine the prevailing, narrowly biographical conception of historical editing by including annotations on many now obscure individuals and organizations. The Garvey papers will reshape our understanding of the history of black nationalism and perhaps increase our understanding of contemporary black politics.

Hill's introduction provides an incisive and original analysis of the sources of Garvey's thought. Some will question his decision to use the introduction as a forum for his own controversial interpretation of the Garvey movement, but he should be applauded for avoiding the tendency, common among those who study Great Men, to engage in hagiography rather than critical analysis. His essay sets a high standard of clarity and balance for those who will challenge his conclusions.

For the most part, Hill supports those who stress the conservative side of nationalism, although he argues that Garvey's views changed and that he adopted a militant stance from 1919 to the summer of 1921. Hill's explanation for Garvey's ideological shifts is not entirely persuasive, but at the very least, his essay and the documents he has collected should lay to rest the notion that Garvey's primary goal was to transport black Americans "back" to Africa. "We are not preaching any doctrines to ask all the Negroes of Harlem and of the United States to pick up their trunks and to leave for Africa," Garvey said. "We are not crazy, because we have to wait until we get a Lenox Avenue and a Seventh Avenue before we could get the Negroes of Harlem to leave for Africa." The more immediate objective was the creation of an independent Africa that would strengthen the position of blacks all over the world.

Hill's major contribution is in demonstrating the extent to which Garvey was influenced by the dominant philosophy of his time. What Garvey offered was a black variant of the success ethic that permeated white society in the early twentieth century. He saw himself as "the idealized self-made man who triumphed over continual dis-

Clayborne Carson teaches history at Stanford University and is the author of In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s *(Harvard University Press).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

advantage in a heroic struggle for success and survival." Rejecting W.E.B. DuBois's patrician contempt for American materialism, Garvey encouraged blacks to read success manuals and "to argue their way out to success." Instead of idealizing African or Afro-American culture as an alternative route to racial advancement, Garvey was a proponent of "positive thinking," which would enable blacks to prevail in the Darwinian struggle for economic success. He displayed, writes Hill, "the aggressive virtues of self-mastery, mind power, determination, energy, ambition, force of will" that were the "mental attributes imparted by the period of industrialization and by the new era of American economic growth."

Like his nineteenth-century nationalist precursors, Garvey firmly rejected the idea, popularized by DuBois, that black Americans should retain and develop their unique culture. Ignoring the intellectual trend toward cultural relativism, Garvey criticized much of the literature of the Harlem renaissance and denounced black musical forms such as spirituals and jazz as inferior. Rather than reject European values (which he believed were ultimately derived from Africa), he called on blacks to emulate Europe's accomplishments. He appealed to them to support his shipping company, the Black Star Line, not as a means of transporting them back to Africa but as a business venture to exploit untapped African commercial possibilities and to begin civilizing "the backward tribes of Africa." Like his hero, Booker T. Washington, Garvey believed that blacks and whites would be treated as equals only when blacks acquired wealth and the power that accompanied it. "The thing that counts in this world is money, it is material wealth," Garvey proclaimed. "Today we are determined to get our portion of the material wealth in this world, and when we get it . . . there will be no more color line."

Given this portrait it may be difficult to imagine how Garvey could be viewed as a radical leader, but Hill argues that Garvey became radicalized in response to the racial conflicts of the post-World War I era, when white mobs periodically invaded black communities and started deadly street battles. The evidence that Garvey actually advocated radical social change in the United States is slight, but as in more recent times, nationalist millennialism was mistakenly perceived as threatening the overthrow of the state. Many whites feared—and many black activists hoped—that Garveyism would merge with the militant unionism of the time. In 1919, after a summer of widespread racial and class warfare, J. Edgar Hoover, then working with the newly formed General Intelligence Division of the Justice Department, described Garvey as active among "radical elements in New York City." Disappointed that Garvey had "not as yet violated any federal law whereby he could be proceeded against on the grounds of being an undesirable alien," Hoover proposed that the Justice Department begin its ultimately successful effort to convict Garvey of fraud in connection with his fund-raising for the Black Star Line.

Hill includes many investigative reports on Garvey's activities, but Hoover's paranoid delusions do not prove Garvey's radicalism any more than Hoover's vicious efforts against Martin Luther King Jr. prove that King was a Communist. Garvey's followers were ideologically diverse, but the government's spying revealed that Garvey, though fervent in his calls for race war in Africa (which he never visited), never gave more than vague and ambiguous verbal support to the notion that blacks should struggle aggressively against white racism in the United States. In 1920, a military intelligence report concluded that there was "nothing in [Garvey's] movement that should give the American Government concern." As one agent reported, Garvey advised blacks that their conditions would not improve until "the Negro would be able to make War on the white race" but that time would not come until Africa was "returned to the Negro Race." The report continued: "Garvey spoke against Radicalism and Repudiated those men that have been going through the country causing trouble between the whites and the Negro Race."

Instead of moving toward radicalism, Garvey merely attempted—briefly and reluctantly—to bring radical blacks under his organizational umbrella before finally deciding to reaffirm his largely apolitical stance. Hill argues that Garvey's turning point came in 1921, when he was refused re-entry to the United States after a Caribbean trip until one of his subordinates bribed an immigration official. It was then that Garvey decided, according to Hill, to make a firm break with radicalism and assert his support for racial segregation in order to gain white support and prevent his black opponents from using the Federal government to crush him.

This thesis is compelling, but it underestimates the importance of internal tensions in the U.N.I.A., which sharpened ideological distinctions within the black nationalist community. Garvey's ability to pose as a radical decreased dramatically during the early 1920s as other black leaders staked out positions to his left. Cyril V. Briggs, a black nationalist communist, had formed the African Blood Brotherhood in 1919. By the time Garvey turned to the right, the Brotherhood had attracted thousands of followers and several leading Garveyites (including the U.N.I.A.'s secretary general, chaplain general, commissioner to Liberia and stenographer, and the former editor of the U.N.I.A. newspaper, *Negro World*). Confronted with the example of the Bolshevik Revolution, Garvey drew his inspiration from the Irish Sinn Fein, which was more compatible with his racial separatism. Garvey became one of many black nationalist leaders who, when challenged by militant, class-conscious blacks, capitalized on the emotional appeal of racial and even racist rhetoric.

If the portrait that emerges from the Garvey papers is not that of a black radical hero, it is also not that of a charlatan without historical importance. Despite his flamboyant military dress and irascible manner, Garvey was an astute observer of world affairs and a shrewd analyst of human behavior. He can best be seen as a transitional figure in the development of black political thought, for he moved beyond the ideas of earlier nationalists, who were often elitist in their relations with the masses, and mobilized a large segment of the black populace. Some aspects of his message seem mundane and his public pomposity invites ridicule, but Garvey's apparent lack of sophistication contributed to his appeal: He communicated with the black masses in terms they understood rather than in the refined and borrowed vocabulary of the college-educated elite.

The black leaders who unsuccessfully competed with Garvey were often more highly educated and sometimes more aware of the complexity of the problems confronting black people, but the source of their awareness, and often of their prestige, was the white world. DuBois was the pioneering figure in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pan-Africanist tradition (which holds that black people everywhere have a common destiny), and his appreciation of Afro-American culture was greater than the foreign-born Garvey's. Yet it was Garvey who received the adulation that black people reserve for those leaders who achieve prominence, even for a time, without white assistance. DuBois and Garvey are towering figures in twentieth-century black politics, but tragically, they were bitter enemies during their lifetimes and left behind a divided intellectual legacy that has never been completely unified.

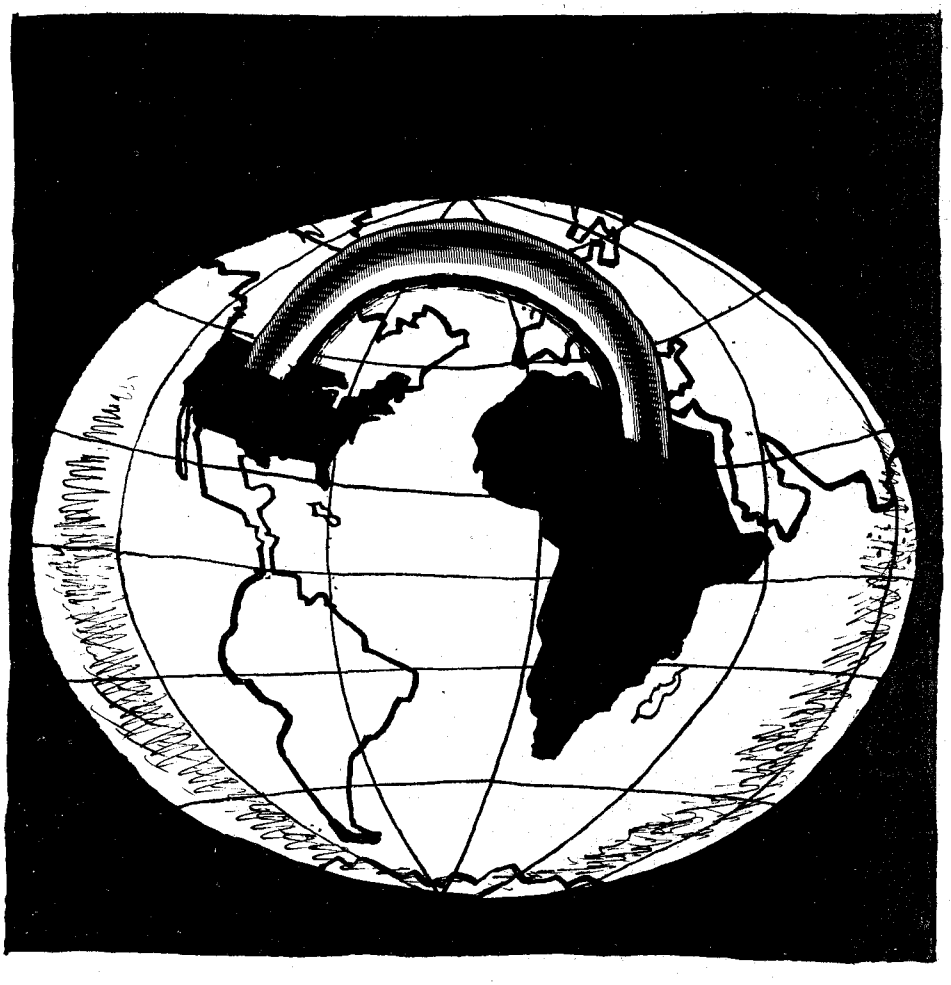
Even in Jesse Jackson's campaign there are muted echoes not only of DuBois's militancy for social change but also of Garvey's visionary racial politics. Although Garvey once asserted that the "vain assumption" that a black man might become President was as futile as "waiting on the devil and his angels" to "direct the affairs of Paradise," he nevertheless called on blacks to "take advantage of every opportunity." Jackson is by no means a black nationalist, but his campaign demonstrates the extent to which nationalist and integrationist themes have become entwined. As President General of the U.N.I.A. and the African Communities' League, Garvey saw Pan-African unity rather than a "rainbow coalition" as his route to power, but it would be a mistake to overlook the similarities between Garvey's calls for racial uplift and Jackson's "I Am Somebody" refrain. Both men came from humble origins and, through strength of will and character, vaulted into leadership over established black leaders from more privileged backgrounds. Both provide powerless blacks with a model of confidence, assertiveness and independence.

If Garvey were alive today, he would doubtless recognize the common elements in his uplift ethic and Jackson's brash, daring political style, his calls for black educational achievement and his use of self-promotion to create an appealing image of success. He would probably appreciate Jackson's effort to create black business opportunities by organizing boycotts. He would sympathize with Jackson's difficulty in gaining the support of the cosmopolitan black elite, while glorying in the fact that both were far more able than their black critics to reach the masses. Garvey would not see Jackson as a fellow nationalist, but he would recognize a leader who, perhaps unconsciously, uses a political vocabulary that reflects the unique experiences and aspirations of black people. Jackson does not have Garvey's organized support, and he may not possess a comparable sense of historical purpose. But he may represent a historical departure that is, in the long term, more significant than Garvey's was.

Once one moves beyond the simplistic notion that black nationalism is merely antiwhite, escapist and violent, it becomes possible to see how its underlying cultural themes have enriched and will continue to enrich American life. The most important outcome of the Jackson campaign may be to introduce racially distinctive political styles into the moribund political system. That Jackson has been able to attract the support of black Baptists and Black Muslims, rural blacks and urban blacks, the politically active and the politically inert, may matter more in the long run than the fact that he has failed to garner the unanimous backing of the black elite, which has historically placed its faith in white liberalism.

Jackson's black critics envy him, much as DuBois and the educated blacks of the 1920s envied Garvey. With some justification they will claim, as Garvey's critics did, that Jackson's motives are suspect, that his appeal is based partly on demagogy, that his programs are not clearly formulated, that he does not possess the intellectual depth or political experience of other black leaders. Like Garvey, however, Jackson can defend himself by pointing to his indisputable successes. As Garvey demonstrated the widespread receptiveness of blacks to the rhetoric of racial uplift, Jackson has demonstrated that a black political figure need not abandon that rhetoric in order to attract significant white support. Indeed, the rhetoric might be perceived by some whites as an asset rather than a liability. Jackson's success in freeing Lieut. Robert Goodman from Syria certainly depended on luck, but it also demonstrated vividly that black politicians could offer America a difference in cultural perspectives that is useful in a world that is largely nonwhite and non-Western. For better or worse, Jackson may serve as a model for a new generation of black politicians.

The fact that black nationalist themes of racial pride and Pan-Africanist unity can be separated from traditional anti-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

white animus and racial chauvinism is a measure of the changes that have occurred since Garvey's heyday. During the period after 1921 Garvey attempted to prove to whites that his nationalism did not threaten the social order, but he did it in an opportunistic way that destroyed his credibility. By publicly advocating racial purity and linking himself with white racists, he tried to win favor with whites while neutralizing his black opponents. In 1922, Garvey voiced support for a Mississippi politician's plan to establish an American-sponsored black settler nation in Africa. Instead of strengthening Garvey's position, his meeting with a Ku Klux Klan leader that year narrowed his black support and made him an easier target for J. Edgar Hoover and other government officials. In 1923, Garvey was convicted of illegally using the mails to raise funds for the Black Star Line. After his appeal was turned down in 1925, he entered the Federal penitentiary in Atlanta, where he served almost two years before his sentence was commuted to deportation.

Garvey's rise and fall reveal the strengths and limitations of the black nationalist tradition. Many of its problems stem from the use of the term "black nationalism" to describe a tradition that involves far more than the establishment of a black nation or the migration of blacks to Africa. The idea of a black nation has been an extreme expression of a widely shared desire for black-controlled institutions and for a positive sense of group identity. Garvey and most other important black nationalists saw Africa rather than America as the site for their ambitions, but they also believed in the development of strong African nations as a necessary precondition for black advancement in America.

Like other black nationalists, however, Garvey fell victim to the tendency to seek ideological consistency at the expense of social relevance. He argued that since racism permeates white society, blacks have more to gain from allying themselves with powerful white conservatives than with less powerful white liberals. Similarly, nineteenth-century black nationalist Henry Highland Garnet sought support from the American Colonization Society, which advocated sending free blacks to Africa, and his colleague Martin Delany allied himself with conservative South Carolina Governor Wade Hampton. During the late 1960s the black nationalist leaders who took over the Congress of Racial Equality made their own accommodation with white conservatives in the Nixon Administration.

Yet if black nationalist extremism, like all extremism, has often produced ideologically pure leaders with few followers, it has also been a major source of distinctive political ideas. Unlike the integrationist tradition, which is ideologically rooted in the unrealized ideals of American democracy, the nationalist tradition has sprung from the unique experiences of—to use Malcolm X's phrase—the black victims of American democracy. Integrationists have brought blacks closer to the mainstream; nationalists have insured that they will be able to alter its course. At the peak of his influence, Garvey demonstrated the emotional power of nationalist appeals for racial unity and pride. If his message seems less controversial now, it is because so many of his ideas have become the basic assumptions of black politics. Perhaps the most important of those ideas is that the black racial consciousness produced by white racism is not a curse but a valuable legacy. □

Silt and Sluices

MICHAEL GORRA

WATERLAND. *By Graham Swift. Poseidon. 310 pp. $15.95.*

Waterland has the ambition and intelligence, but not the passion or courage, of a masterpiece. The first book by the young English writer Graham Swift to be published in America, it is an absorbing novel of ideas presented as the *apologia pro vita sua* of Tom Crick, an English history teacher in his mid-50s who, as the novel opens, has just been forced to accept early retirement. In response to his students' belief that history is a "fairy-tale" and only the "here and now" matters, Crick has abandoned the formal curriculum to tell stories about his childhood in East England's Fens. The headmaster, a physicist, shares the students' opinion of the past, and Crick's "trying to put himself into history" is the last straw. But Crick won't go—his students are for once interested in his "crazy yarns"—until one day his wife goes mad and steals a baby from a supermarket shopping cart.

The prospect of retirement gives Crick the freedom to tell his pupils the lurid story that lies behind his wife's theft—one final demonstration of the connection between past and present. As a boy, Crick lived with his widowed father, a lockkeeper, and his retarded, "potato-head" older brother, Dick. One morning in the summer of 1943, his father found the body of Tom's friend Freddie Parr knocking up against the gates of the sluice. The inquest called it accidental death by drowning, but Tom suspected, correctly, that his brother was responsible. For Dick was in love with Tom's pregnant girlfriend (and eventual wife), Mary, who, to protect Tom, told Dick that Freddie was the father. After the inquest Mary had the child aborted by a local witchwoman, whose primitive tools left her unable to bear children. And so, forty years later, Mary takes a child from a shopping cart, claiming, "God told me to do it."

But the chain of causation in Crick's personal history is not that simple, and *Waterland* is also his account of all the stories that have shaped his own. He begins with the Fens themselves: 12,000 square miles of swamps and marshes, sluices, locks and canals. Swift charts the region's ways and history in a series of expository chapters modeled on the technical descriptions of whaling in *Moby Dick*. The Fens, he writes, are built on silt, "which shapes and undermines continents; which demolishes as it builds; which is simultaneous accretion and erosion; neither progress nor decay." They "are never reclaimed," he adds, "only being reclaimed." And so Crick tells his class to forget

> your revolutions, your turning-points, your grand metamorphoses of history. Consider, instead, the slow and arduous process, the interminable and ambiguous process . . . of land reclamation . . . however much you resist them, the waters will return . . . the land sinks; silt collects . . . something in nature wants to go back.

Fenmen are accordingly dominated by "phlegm," a substance "neither liquid nor solid," and are suspicious of all conventional notions of progress. In a

Michael Gorra has written for The New York Times Book Review *and* The Hudson Review.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

world built on silt, as Crick tells his students, "it's progress if you can stop the world slipping away."

It is a lesson that Crick's mother's family, the Atkinsons, took generations to learn. They came to the Fens from the Norfolk hills in 1799, brewers whose growing fortunes seemed to foretell England's own. Despite the periodic yet unpredictable flooding around them, the sheer progression of time seemed to the Atkinsons to mark an improvement in humanity's lot. They celebrated the "progress" of the nineteenth century with special releases of ale—for the Great Exhibition, for Victoria's jubilees—and toward the end of the century, Arthur Atkinson was returned five times to Parliament as a high priest of empire. But Arthur's son Ernest saw "as no Atkinson had . . . the essential desolation of the Fens." As Liberal candidate for Parliament in 1910, he denounced both empire and progress, and lost not just the family seat but most of his money as well—for the Atkinsons' fortunes did, in fact, foretell England's own. He became a recluse, open to the "melancholia and . . . madness" latent in the "great, flat monotony" of the water-land around him; and in the early 1920s, as Crick learns from a journal he finds in the attic, he fathered a "potato-head" son on his daughter, who was engaged to a lockkeeper named Henry Crick.

Crick intertwines the Atkinsons' history with the events of 1943 and with those of his present life as a teacher, moving back and forth between them much as the River Ouse wanders across the Fens. Swift holds the novel together through the grandly conceived and compelling metaphor of the Fens, which both controls the novel's action and offers a way of understanding it. The Fens are the physical embodiment of a history in which all progress is chimerical, in which a civilization's controlling locks and sluices must be guarded and watched but can, like Crick's own life, be swamped at any time by the influx of the past. *Waterland* is a deeply conservative novel, but its conservatism is built not on complacency but on a classical stoicism.

Where *Waterland* fails is in its style. Tom Crick is too much the phlegmatic Fenman, too completely the dispassionate historian of the *Annales* school, to bother much about individuals, and since Swift does not undercut him, his limitations are the novel's. *Waterland* lacks passion, or rather its passion is all

Recommended for anyone with a serious interest in the nature of power in the United States.

THEIRS BE THE POWER
THE MOGULS OF EASTERN KENTUCKY
Harry M. Caudill

"Harry M. Caudill, author of the 1963 classic, *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*, has written a new, perhaps even greater book, *Theirs Be the Power*. A passionate but well-documented chronicle of the rise of King Coal in eastern Kentucky, *Theirs Be the Power* exhibits how unregulated free enterprise led to the devastation of thousands of human lives." —*Washington Post Book World*. "The last chapter is especially interesting. In it Caudill identifies today's moguls, traces who owns what and shows how well they are served by their political vassals. The 'dirty hands' are still around Kentucky's throat." — *Chattanooga Times*. $13.95

Order toll free 800/638-3030. Maryland residents phone 301/824-7300.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS
54 E. Gregory Drive, Champaign, IL 61820

Speak French like a diplomat!®

What sort of people need to learn a foreign language as quickly and effectively as possible? *Foreign service personnel*, that's who.

Now you can learn to speak French just as these diplomatic personnel do—with the Foreign Service Institute's Basic French Course.

The U.S. Department of State has spent thousands of dollars developing this course. It's by far *the most effective way* to learn French at your own convenience and at your own pace.

The Basic French Course consists of a series of cassettes and an accompanying textbook. Simply follow the spoken and written instructions, listening and repeating. By the end of the course, you'll be learning and speaking entirely in French!

This course turns your cassette player into a "teaching machine." With its unique "pattern drill" learning method, you set your own pace—testing yourself, correcting errors, reinforcing accurate responses.

The FSI's Introductory Basic French Course comes in two parts, each shipped in handsome library binders. Part A introduces the simpler forms of the language and a basic vocabulary. Part B presents more complex structures and additional vocabulary. Order either, or save 10% by ordering both:

☐ **Basic French Part A.** 12 cassettes (15 hr.), and 194-p. text, $125.
☐ **Basic French, Part B.** 18 cassettes (25 hr.), and 290-p. text, $149.

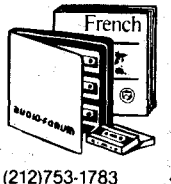
(Conn. and N.Y. residents add sales tax.)

TO ORDER BY PHONE, PLEASE CALL TOLL-FREE NUMBER: **1-800-243-1234.**

To order by mail, clip this ad and send with your name and address, and a check or money order — or charge to your credit card (VISA, MasterCard, AmEx, Diners) by enclosing card number, expiration date, and your signature.

The Foreign Service Institute's French course is unconditionally guaranteed. Try it for three weeks. If you're not convinced it's the fastest, easiest, most painless way to learn French, return it and we'll refund every penny you paid. Order today!

112 courses in 35 other languages also available. Write for free catalog. Our 12th year.



Audio-Forum
Room 288
On-the-Green,
Guilford, CT 06437
(203) 453-9794

AUDIO-FORUM®

Or visit our New York sales office: 145 E. 49th St., New York, N.Y. 10017 (212)753-1783

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for history itself and not for the people who are affected by it. It is so enthralled by the idea of the inescapability of the past that it denies its characters the free will and emotional range that its plot of murder, madness, abortion, incest and suicide requires. The novel is consequently most successful the more nearly it approaches a work of history. Crick's impersonal account of the growth of the Atkinsons' wealth, for example, carries far more conviction than that of his reaction to his wife's madness.

Waterland's weaknesses stem from the fact that Swift is far more interested in the metaphoric qualities of the Fens than in their physical ones. For all the brilliance of his controlling metaphor, Swift's language is not resourceful enough to convey a landscape richly, intensely, passionately seen. No matter how often he mentions their monotony, one never quite feels the power of the Fens as a motive force in the lives of their inhabitants, never feels the psychological effects of landscape as one does in Hardy or Bruce Chatwin's recent *On the Black Hill*.

Small wonder, then, that *Waterland*'s characters come close to being props through which Swift can express his persuasive but programmatic vision of history. He lacks the novelist's final courage, the willingness to be surprised by what his art discloses. *Waterland* is intellectually bold, provocative and challenging in a way that many nearly perfect novels are not. But it is too sure of itself, too convinced a priori that phlegm and silt are all that matters, to earn fully the praise with which one would like to reward its strengths. □

A book for anyone attempting to raise money for progressive causes.

Dollars & SENSE

COMMUNITY FUNDRAISING MANUAL

- "A surprisingly valuable handbook." —*American Library Association Booklist*
- "[*Dollars and Sense*] is obviously written by real people who are distilling what they have learned from direct experience." —*Grantsmanship Center News*

Send $18 plus $1 postage to:
WCDV • 870 Market St. #1058 N
San Francisco, Calif. 94102

When drafting your will, please consider making a bequest to *The Nation*.

For information, write or call: Office of the Publisher, *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011 (212) 242-8400.

This publication is available in microform.
University Microfilms International
300 North Zeeb Road Dept. P.R. Ann Arbor, Mi. 48106 U.S.A.
30-32 Mortimer Street Dept. P.R. London W1N 7RA England

THEATER.

STEPHEN HARVEY

Report From London

According to legend, about twenty-five years ago John Osborne and his renegade band slew the defenders of teacup gentility and made even the West End safe for candor and fury. Anyone who still believes that should stay well clear of Shaftesbury Avenue. At the moment, the most scabrous play running on London's equivalent of West 45th Street is an applauded revival of Clifford Odets's 1950 *The Country Girl*, two doors down from the latest Noël Coward remounting. If you go to London this month, you'll have just missed Omar Sharif in a resuscitation of Sir Terence Rattigan's *The Sleeping Prince* and an adaptation of Arthur Wing Pinero's *The Magistrate* for Sir John Mills ("What a night! What a knight!" quoth one of the tabloids), but *The Aspern Papers*, with Vanessa Redgrave, Wendy Hiller and Christopher Reeve, has just begun, and Hayley Mills continues to be menaced eight times a week in *Dial 'M' for Murder*. Such novelties as *Noises Off* and *The Real Thing* are available at less than half the price (and star power) of their Broadway editions, but for real drop-dead contemporaneity, no less than four Andrew Lloyd (*Cats*) Webber extravaganzas are still running, with a fifth set to premiere in a couple of weeks. (That one, entitled *Starlight Express*, is a railroad opera, in which Webber's erstwhile felines apparently get to masquerade as choo-choos.)

Stephen Harvey writes for Inquiry, The Village Voice *and other magazines.*

It seems as though most of the performers in the West End are being called upon to impersonate Bright Young Things in middy blouses and white flannels. London is indulging in a demure orgy of nostalgia for the theatrical 1920s. For a year now, one of the West End's smaller theaters has been tenanted by the agreeably tatty *Mr. Cinders*, a sex-reversal rendition of the Cinderella story. This turns out to be the last word in 1929 concept musicals, populated by a thoroughly modern soubrette proclaiming in song that "Speed's the word for people to-day"; a Princess Charming who trills, frequently, that she's a one-man girl who's looking for a one-girl man; two screech-queen wicked stepbrothers; and a put-upon hero whose anthem, despite all, is "Spread a Little Happiness." The score, mostly by the still-extant Vivian Ellis, is a vivacious stepchild of the collected *oeuvre* of Jerome Kern and George Gershwin; the sets look as if they'd been exhumed from *The Boy Friend*'s 1958 tour of the Midlands. Pluck's the word for *Mr. Cinders*'s cast, who at the matinee I caught antically feigned eight variations on whoopee before a house composed almost entirely of somnolent pensioners.

A much younger, more boisterous crowd is thronging to a contemporary 1920s pastiche called *Daisy Pulls It Off*, produced but not penned by the ubiquitous Andrew Lloyd Webber. *Daisy* is a slapstick morality play set in an exclusive girls' school, in which the first-ever scholarship pupil vanquishes caste bigotry by dint of her grit and verve and unswerving school spirit. *Daisy*'s formula of musty slang and melodramatic contrivance is *meant* to be imbecilic; author Denise Deegan's jokey conceit is that this is the Grangewood School's annual end-of-term play, conceived and performed by the third-formers themselves as a change of pace from *Samson Agonistes* and *Edward II*. That she's managed to evoke the collective unconscious of upper-middle-class girlhood circa 1928 and sustain it through two long acts is a kind of virtuosity, to be sure. Two hours plus of languid "U" accents, hockey fetishism and subterranean Sapphism kept the audience howling, but to the uninitiated, *Daisy* is asphyxiatingly cute—by comparison, those old *St. Trinian's* movies were as

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mordant as *Sweeney Todd*.

The current production of Coward's *Hay Fever* is likewise pretty wan stuff, but this time it's not the play that is at fault. A bauble in which a quartet of boring but nice English folk endure a country weekend of rain, bad food and the beastly conduct of their hosts, the bohemian Blisses, *Hay Fever* is close to top-hole Coward bitchery. It's also fiendishly hard to play, because for the Blisses, flamboyant artifice is as natural as breathing, and the actors must never cue the audience that they are in on the joke. The 1964 National Theatre revival assembled Edith Evans, Maggie Smith, Derek Jacobi, Lynn Redgrave and Robert Stephens for the task. The present rather anonymous troupe has been schooled to volley badinage back and forth like so many shuttlecocks, but they don't bring much soul to it. As Judith Bliss, the perennially coquettish matriarch, Penelope Keith is very much the efficient gamesmistress, an arched eyebrow always at the ready just before she takes one of Judith's voluptuous swoons. I expected a good deal more from the actress whose Thatcheresque snootiness has brightened so many PBS Sunday night bundles from Britain.

Conversely, several of the contemporary offerings in the West End were pedestrian scripts enlivened by their gifted star players. Dennis Potter, who wrote the TV and film scripts for *Pennies From Heaven*, is making his debut as a playwright with *Sufficient Carbohydrate*, a satirical comedy whose wit is largely confined to its title. Two food conglomerate executives, one a sleek American materialist, the other a fumbling English eccentric with a visionary bent, clash principles during a Greek holiday—and guess who wins? Cozy stuff, spiced by a miscalculated episode in which the besotted Brit gets to rough up the American's spouse (his cosmic rage could no longer be contained) and is quickly forgiven for it. The casting vitiates the moral tug of war: Nicky Henson plays the Yankee with little more than an even tan and an American accent that sounds as if a wad of peanut butter were stuck to the roof of his mouth. He's no match for Dinsdale Landen, whose scrofulous grandiloquence is reminiscent of the late Ralph Richardson in one of his pottier character turns.

If Landen's baleful hamminess makes *Sufficient Carbohydrate* bearable, Judi Dench's harrowing underacting gives the earnest and earth-

"Essential reading for anyone who wants to grasp what goes on in a presidential campaign."

—R.W. Apple, Jr., *New York Times*

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

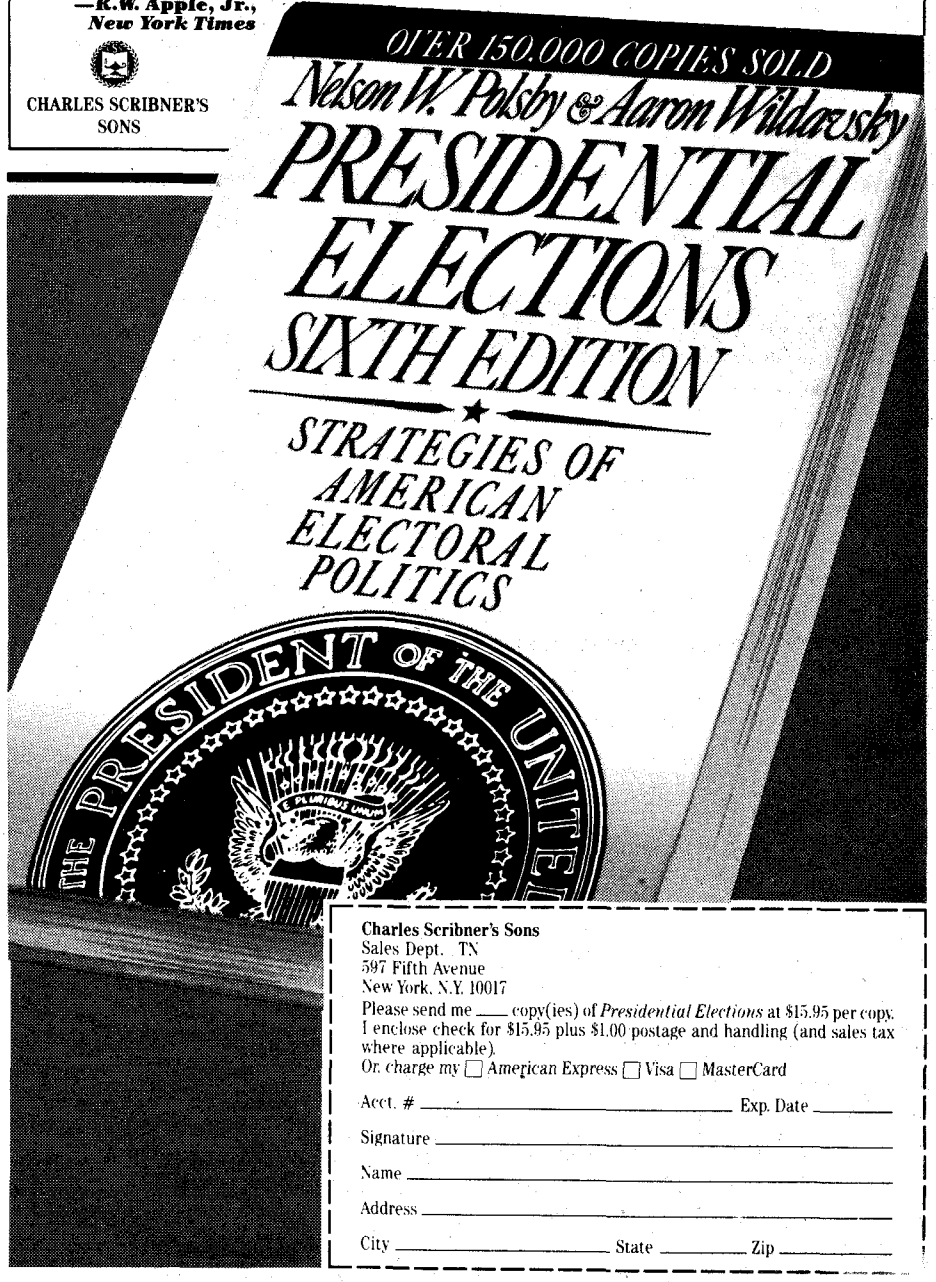
The acclaimed guide to election politics, now in its 6th complete revision ...reorganized and rewritten for the 1984 elections. Explains...

- How the new election rules will affect the future
- What 1984 may hold—based on 1982 congressional elections
- Why Republicans win presidential elections—even though they are a minority party
- Why more and more candidates enter as many primaries as they can
- Why the effects of money and of political action committees are overrated
- Why the 1980 election did not cause a major party realignment
- And much more

"This book has been and will continue to be indispensable...Objective scholarship and principled advocacy."—Gary Orren, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

"Sophisticated, pragmatic...Agile wits and lucid pens well targeted on the changing humors of presidential selection."
—Alexander Heard, Institute for Public Policy Studies, Vanderbilt University

At bookstores now or use coupon to order


OVER 150,000 COPIES SOLD
Nelson W. Polsby & Aaron Wildavsky
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
SIXTH EDITION
STRATEGIES OF AMERICAN ELECTORAL POLITICS
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED

Charles Scribner's Sons
Sales Dept. TN
597 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

Please send me ___ copy(ies) of *Presidential Elections* at $15.95 per copy. I enclose check for $15.95 plus $1.00 postage and handling (and sales tax where applicable).
Or, charge my ☐ American Express ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard

Acct. # _____ Exp. Date _____

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EVENTS.

AMERICAN ATHEISTS
14th Annual Nat'l Convention
will be held on April 20, 21, 22
Radisson Plaza Hotel, Lexington, Ky.
Deadline April 1st.
Individual $20; Couple $35
American Atheists Convention
Box 2117, Austin, TX 78768

U.S. ECONOMIC AND STRATEGIC INTERESTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

N.Y. CISPES presents the slide show "Dollars and Dictators," with analysis by Robert Armstrong of NACLA and others.

TUESDAY, MARCH 27, 6:30 PM
19 West 21st Street, Second Floor
New York City

Call for more information: (212) 242-1040

SOCIALIST SCHOLARS CONFERENCE

"The Encounter with America"

APRIL 19, 20, 21

Borough of Manhattan Community College, CUNY
Greenwich and Harrison Streets
New York City

"The Encounter with America" is the theme of this year's Socialist Scholars Conference. It aims to examine the mutual impact of Marxism and the United States. Last year's conference commemorated Marx's centennial and drew over 1,500 participants. This year, over 50 panels will examine the utility of contemporary socialist thought.

Pre-registration fees: $15, $10 (1 day),
$5 (student/low income)

For more information, contact Department of Sociology, CUNY, 33 West 42nd Street, Room 901, New York, NY 10036, (212) 790-4320.

WHY AM I A NATIONAL SECURITY RISK?

A dialogue sponsored by the
HUMANIST SOCIETY OF METROPOLITAN NEW YORK,
a chapter of the
American Humanist Association

Guest Speaker: PROF. PENN T. KIMBALL
Columbia University, Graduate School of Journalism,
author of The File

Presiding: NORMAN DORSEN,
president, A.C.L.U.

Monday, April 2
The New York University Club
123 West 43rd Street
New York City

6:30 pm Dinner and Reception, $19
8 pm Dialogue only, $5

Please send your name, address, phone and affiliation with your check payable to: Humanist Society of Metropolitan NY, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Reservations limited. For information, call Jesse Gordon, (212) 687-2477.

THOUSANDS FOR PENNIES

You can reach over 200,000 politically aware, culturally active people around the country each week by advertising in the Events column of The Nation. At $35 per column inch, that's pennies per thousand. Call us at (212) 242-8400.

bound *Pack of Lies* a semblance of authentic tragedy. (Coincidentally, this play, currently the West End's most popular drama, is also about American connivery in an English context.) Based on an actual espionage case uncovered in 1961, Hugh Whitemore's text details the disintegration of an archetypal British couple, persuaded by the intelligence service to cooperate in an investigation of their closest friends, a "Canadian" pair suspected of trading secrets to the Soviets. Bred to mind her manners and keep her emotions seemly, the wife feels manipulated by the authorities, betrayed by her trusted neighbors and grievously disloyal to them into the bargain; as the evidence mounts, she quietly implodes. *Pack of Lies* aspires to that soft-spoken naturalism familiar from high-minded TV dramas. From the homey drabness of their semidetached dwelling to the terse banality of their speech, everything about this couple seems calculated to make an English middle-class audience identify with them and feel vaguely superior at the same time—to be that ordinary, *Pack of Lies* hints, you'd have to be half-dead to begin with. But Dench never condescends to her part; gradually, her stocky frame seems invaded by a lethargy too profound ever to be dispelled by a cup of tea and a lie-down. Over the years, Dench has played all manner of remarkable people, from *Cabaret*'s Sally Bowles to Wilde's Lady Bracknell, plus most of the classical ingénues for the Royal Shakespeare Company. In this less than distinguished play, Dench now proves she can make even the prosaic seem transcendent.

London's most bracing new play was, predictably, to be found in the city's equivalent of Off Broadway, the Fringe. At the Lyric, in Hammersmith, Michael Wilcox's *Rents* is an artful sketch of gay life in Edinburgh, in which two teen-age roommates who are more than friends and less than lovers nonchalantly hustle for loose change and squabble over an emotionally contained drama instructor who stumbles between them. *Rents* is defiantly modest by the standards of current plays on homosexual themes. There isn't a sociological thesis in sight, nor any of the they'd-be-just-like-you-if-they-could sentiment which has made *Torch Song Trilogy* such a favorite in New York. It offers nothing but a few messy lives authentically depicted, and the buoyant voice of a true playwright.

After several months, The National Theatre's experimental space is still given over to David Mamet's *Glengarry Glen Ross*, which remains the hardest ticket in town. Getting seats for the newest offering at the largest of the company's auditoriums, a revival of Shaw's *Saint Joan*, poses no such problems—and no wonder. The National seemed to have had no compelling reason for reviving it, save the fact that Frances de la Tour, England's most accomplished androgynous actress, was available to play Joan. And considering how perfunctory her Catholic warrior is, you're tempted to wonder what her motive might have been. In a mellifluous mezzo, she intones the role as if it were Shakespeare; Joan's voices seem to be telling de la Tour that she'd be better off playing Portia at the R.S.C. Thanks to her dispassionate cadences and Cyril Cusack's dozy, avuncular Inquisitor, the trial scene has the tension of a casual hand of gin rummy. If the epilogue plays less anticlimactically than usual, it's because this time around there wasn't any climax in the first place.

Meanwhile, the Royal Shakespeare Company has mounted a *Cyrano de Bergerac* in which everything is miraculously right and unabashedly moving. Despite the company's patented minimalist settings and crisply choreographed stage deportment, this is no modernist reinterpretation of a romantic play. Using Anthony Burgess's fluid, pithy translation, Terry Hands's production goes straight for the play's lyricism and spectacle, down to the moonstruck spotlight which tracks Cyrano as he hides under Roxane's balcony, unseen by everyone but the audience. Derek Jacobi lets us do Cyrano's crying for him—this is virile acting on a heroic scale, with rhymed tongue-lashings that wound his inferiors as surely as the flourishes of his sword. Jacobi is one of the rare classical actors who combine eloquence with emotional immediacy, and his performance earned the first standing ovation I've ever seen in a London theater. A squabble with American Actors' Equity has apparently thwarted a visit of the R.S.C. musical *Poppy*, and it seems we're to get this production, plus Jacobi's *Much Ado About Nothing*, in its stead. As *Poppy*, a slapstick vision of Victorian imperialism, sums up everything that is third-rate about the British musical (with a leer of political smugness to boot), this rhapsodic *Cyrano* will give New York audiences something to be doubly thankful for in the months to come. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

While we reserve the right to refuse any advertisement that we believe to be fraudulent, illegal or offensive, The Nation *wishes its readers to know: a) we do not have the facilities to check out the promises made by our advertisers; and b) we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

ARTISTS' GRANTS

ARTISTS! CASH GRANTS! Available all fields. Cash from foundations, corporations, governments. Ask for FREE valuable report. WIAL, Box 15240, Washington, DC 20003.

ASSOCIATIONS

TECHNOCRACY . . . Designed direction for North America's social operation. Write Continental Headquarters, Box 238, Savannah, OH 44874.

NATIONAL WRITERS UNION. Collective bargaining. Grievance procedures. Health insurance. Journalists, authors, poets, commercial writers. National Writers Union, Box C, 13 Astor Place, New York, NY 10003.

Join The Nation Associates, a group of loyal and committed *Nation* readers who provide invaluable support for the magazine through annual contributions of $20 or more. Membership includes participation in a variety of Associates activities and a subscription to "The Nation Associate," a newsletter that tells you what's going on behind the scenes at *The Nation*.

For further information write or call Claudine Bacher, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011, (212) 242-8400. Make checks payable to The Nation Associates.

BOOKS

STEPHEN DUNNING'S delightful DO YOU FEAR NO ONE, an elegantly illustrated book of poems and prose poems after the manner of Follain. Bewick woodcuts. Only $4.95, shipping's on us. FREE: I BUY POETRY button. Pancake Press, 163 Galewood Circle, San Francisco, CA 94131.

TWO EARTHSHAKING PAPERS! The Key of David Revelation, $5. Illustrated Technical Solution, JFK Murder, $4. The Key, Box 534, Parkchester, NY 10462.

BOOK SEARCH SERVICE

STILL LOOKING FOR A BOOK? Free Search. Write: Sperling Books, Dept. A, Box 1766, Madison Square Station, New York, NY 10159.

BOOKFINDER SPECIALIZING IN ELUSIVE TITLES. Persistent, reasonable. Write: Continental Book Search, Box 2080, New York, NY 10116.

CAN'T FIND THE BOOK YOU WANT? Bet we can. Ursula's Book Search, Box 3808, Oak Park, IL 60303.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

NOTABLE L.A. BOOKSTORE needs loving owner. $300K plus annual sales. Write 1636 Franklin, Santa Monica, CA 90404.

EDUCATION

STUDY SPANISH IN NICARAGUA
Learn about the revolution firsthand.
Year-round course offerings.
Casa Nicaraguense de Español.
Phone (212) 949-4126 or write: 70 Greenwich Ave., #559, New York, NY 10011.

HOW CAN I KNOW what to believe? Looking for attractive study program to stimulate children's ethical development? Searching for ethical educational materials that awaken interest and responsibility in children and youth while deepening insight and understanding? For free descriptive order list, write Educational Materials, American Ethical Union, Dept. N, 2 West 64th Street, New York, NY 10023.

LEARN 10 LANGUAGES a year while striding for exercise. 200 Language Club, Box 1727, Beverly Hills, CA 90213.

FOR SALE

RETIRE IN CALIFORNIA. 1979 mobile home with property, furniture, 1981 airstream motor home, camping memberships. (714) 620-5007.

GAMES & PUZZLES

THE NATION'S BEST PUZZLES, brain-teasers by Frank W. Lewis, collected in book #4. Send $4 ppd. to E.S. Lewis, 1620 Acushnet Avenue, New Bedford, MA 02746.

GENERAL INTEREST

GREAT PYRAMID corroborates Bible. Free 48-page color booklet. Bible Standard (NA), Chester Springs, PA 19425.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS by a graduate of The Graphology Workshop, New School for Social Research. $25. Mary L. Orloff, 1540 York Avenue, New York, NY 10028.

PHOTOGRAPHERS: Film deserve better? MINILAB, 210 Main, Yalesville, CT 06492. Quality prints—handled with care.

HEALTH

CONSTIPATION IMPEDES THE NATION. Treat constipation naturally, inexpensively, without medications. Complete instructions by registered dietician for a non-political, effective movement. $2. RNI, Box 846, Cumberland, MD 21502.

HEALTH CARE

RESIDENTIAL TREATMENT FACILITY for adults. An alternative to extended psychiatric hospitalization for the selective few. CAMBRAY HOUSE, Box 398, Dover, DE 19903. (302) 674-4438.

HUNGER

GLOBAL HUNGER: MAKE AN IMPACT. Sponsor one or all four thousand miles of Patrick Giantonio's walk across Africa for $5 per mile (tax deductible). Receive Patrick's newsletter describing his experiences as he promotes the UNICEF Children's Survival Revolution. Write: PATRICK'S WALK, Impact on Hunger, 145 East 49th Street, New York, NY 10017.

INSURANCE

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.
INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL SERVICES
Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning
11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, NY 11021
212-895-7005, 516-466-4642

MERCHANDISE

NORTHERN EXPOSURES: Matted, signed photos of northern Minnesota. Preview, $2, 3 for $5. Anderson, Rt. 8, Box 543, Ranier, MN 56668.

"NO MORE! No Vietnam War in Central America!" The background of this poster, a military coffin and the inscription "No More" originated during the Vietnam War and was widely circulated. Now the well-known artist Sam Wiener, angered by the Reagan Administration's war efforts in Central America, has forcefully expressed his outrage by splashing a fiery-red protest over the original. The posters, measuring 24½ by 19½ inches, are printed in three colors on high-gloss paper. They are available for $4 each, plus $1 for postage. (Orders of 5 or more are available for $3 per poster plus postage. Please inquire for special discounts on large quantity bulk orders.) Make checks payable to The Nation, and send to: The Nation, "No More," 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011

HOME H_2O DISTILLATION APPLIANCE. Distill Clear by Shetland. Brochure available on request. C. Lamb Distributing, Box 3285, Charlottesville, VA 22903. $275 ppd.

MISCELLANEOUS

NEW CREDIT CARD! Nobody refused!
Also Visa/Mastercard.
Call (805) 687-6000, ext. C-3596.

PERSONALS

SOPHISTICATED SCANDINAVIANS, all ages, seek enlightened correspondence, lasting relationships. Details: SCANNA-N, Box 4, Pittsford, NY 14534.

UNATTACHED? Meet aware, literate singles. Lowest fee. Call DATELINE—free: 800-451-3245.

ORIENTAL WOMEN wish to correspond with Americans. Cherry Blossoms, Box 1021NA, Honokaa, HI 96727.

MUCH BLESSED young 30s divorced father seeks independently growing woman. Box 33163, Washington DC 20033.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

PERSONALS

Would you like to be more closely involved with America's oldest weekly journal of opinion? Join The Nation Associates, and participate in a variety of activities with dedicated readers like yourself. See The Nation Associates ad in this issue.

SINGLE PROFILE NEXUS creates a nationwide network of cultured singles. Box 19983, Orlando, FL 32814.

WIDOWER—tall, slim, sensitive, caring, unattached. Invites responsive, svelte, attractive 40-50 woman share re-entry, living joys, arts, classical music, travel, sunsets. N.Y.S. area. Write Nation Box 29.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

DEFEND SALVADORAN REFUGEES against deportation. Workers urgently needed by legal collective on Texas border. Will train. Commitment, Spanish ability required. Proyecto Libertad, (512) 425-9552.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, Texas A.C.L.U. Fund-raiser, organizer, organizational spokesperson, legislative lobbyist, writer, editor, administrator, etc. Salary negotiable. Send resume to TCLU, 600 West 7th, Austin, TX 78701.

FREELANCE TYPESETTER. The Nation magazine seeks experienced Editwriter 7500 operator. Mid-April through mid-June. Monday and Tuesday, approx. 20 hours per week, $9 per hour. Contact Jane Sharples, (212) 242-8400.

POSITIONS DESIRED

NATION INTERN seeks evening work proofreading, typing, etc. Call Richard Greenberg at (212) 242-8400, days.

EXPERT TRANSLATION. French, German, English. Reasonable rates. Call (212) 249-5767.

PUBLICATIONS

If you missed any of The Nation's special issues the first time around, you can order reprints on such timely subjects as Latin America, Disarmament and the Middle East. See the Reprint ad in this issue.

PUBLICATIONS

TECHNOCRACY-TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for $1 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

SMALL TOWN, the voice of small town America. Articles on planning, preservation, attracting industry, housing, shopping malls, central business district improvement and other matters of interest to small communities. Individual membership in The Small Town Institute, $30. PO Box 517, Ellensburg, WA 98926. Just out, 100-page Historic Preservation Resourcebook. Special prices for bulk orders.

FREE 61-page pamphlet, "Capitalism and Unemployment," with $4 for one-year subscription to biweekly socialist newspaper. The People (N), 914 Industrial Ave., Palo Alto, CA 94303.

NEW! WOMEN'S REVIEW OF BOOKS, informed opinion on current feminist writing. Published monthly. Subscriptions: $12 U.S., $15 Canada, $25 institutions. FREE sample copy on request. Dept. NA, Women's Review, Wellesley Women's Research Center, Wellesley, MA 02181.

THE ROSENBERG DEBATE TAPES. The historic debate, "Were the Rosenbergs Framed?" sponsored by The Nation and The New Republic at Town Hall on October 20, can now be purchased in typed transcript and/or cassette tape form. Complete transcripts are available for $24 each; tape cassettes are $19 each. Special discounts are available on orders of five or more. Send check or mail order payable to The Nation to: "Rosenbergs," The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. If you'd like more information, call Mr. Monaco at (212) 242-8400. (A project of The Nation Institute.)

"FOOTNOTE ON AN HISTORIC CASE: IN RE ALGER HISS." This just-published booklet by author William A. Reuben identifies 114 factual errors in the Federal District Court of New York's 1982 decision upholding Hiss's conviction for perjury in 1950. This flawed decision, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1983, stands as the last legal word on one of the most celebrated cases in modern history. 1 copy $5, 10 copies $40, 50 copies $150, 100 copies $250. Make checks payable to The Nation Institute and send to "Hiss," The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

PUBLICATIONS

PROGRESSIVE PERIODICALS DIRECTORY! Good for publicity, networking, subscription details on 400 periodicals on peace, labor, politics, international culture, health, etc. $4 from Box N-120574, Nashville, TN 37212.

The American Atheist
a magazine of reason, news and thought. Religion is the problem, not the answer. We point out non-sense and irrational ideas in media, science, education, government, religion and culture.
1-year sub $25; sample copy $1.
AMERICAN ATHEISTS
Box 2117, Austin, TX 78768.2117

YOU ARE THE TARGET of government mind-control research. Protect yourself through awareness. Send $4.95 for "Mind Manipulation" to STW, 737 Wertheim Place, Long Branch, NJ 07740.

RIDE THE RAILWAYS OF THE WORLD! From Siberia to Spain, India to Switzerland, discover the thrill of modern train travel with The International Railway Traveler. Sample $3.50. Bi-monthly subscription $15. IRT, Box 35067, Dept. B, Louisville, KY 40232.

GLOBAL THREATS to Third World minorities reported and analyzed in CULTURAL SURVIVAL QUARTERLY. For sample: Cultural Survival, 11 Divinity Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138. (617) 495-2562.

DISARMAMENT CAMPAIGNS. International newsmagazine on campaigns for disarmament, peace, development. Free sample copy. Disarmament Campaigns, Dept. N, Box 18747, 2502 ES The Hague, Netherlands.

RADICAL PASSOVER HAGADA. Secular, non-sexist approach to traditional Seder. Contemporary language emphasizes ideals of liberation, social activism through Jewish history. Beautifully illustrated. $3. Box 340, East Setauket, NY 11733.

LABOR RESEARCH REVIEW, journal on labor movement and industrial community struggles by labor and community leaders. New issue: #4, Machinists and Eastern Airlines Negotiations, $3. Past issues: #2, Crisis in Steel, $2; #3, Labor/Community Struggles in the Rustbowl, $2; 50¢ postage. Write Midwest Center for Labor Research, 3411 W. Diversey, Suite 14, Chicago, IL 60647.

"TORAH, ZIONISM AND PALESTINE," by Dr. Edwin Wright. Send $3 to Americans for Middle East Peace, Box 440006, Houston, TX 77244.

RELIGION

JESUS FICTIONAL—NEVER EXISTED! Scholarly booklet proves *Flavius Josephus created Jesus, Gospels.* $4—Vector, Box 6215-A, Bellevue, WA 98008.

TRAVEL

EUROPE—ART, ARCHITECTURE, MUSIC. Leisurely, inexpensive tour. June 13 to July 24. London, Paris, Rome, Florence, Venice, Pisa, Urbino, Monaco, Alps, Burgundy, Loire Chateaux, Mont-St-Michel, Normandy. All transportation (from New York), all hotels, most meals. $3,450. Congenial companionship, Lucullan food. RICHARD BROTHERS, University of Arkansas, Box 2710, Fayetteville, AR 72701. (501) 442-8423.

For the convenience of those who wish to place a classified notice in *THE NATION:*

RATES: $.80 per word, 15 word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Classified Display: $35/column inch. Copy deadline 17 days prior to issue date. **Payment must accompany order.**

Take advantage of our special offer: place an order for three insertions of your ad, and we will print a fourth insertion free!

TO: *THE NATION*
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y. N.Y. 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for my advertisement to run ____ weeks

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Copy: _____

Payment in U.S. currency

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRAVEL

AFRICA: EAST AND WEST—Kenya and Senegal. Tour with noted professor of African history. July 26 to August 14. $2,560 includes air, meals, lodging. Intentional Travel, 209 Damron Drive, N. Manchester, IN 46962, (219) 982-4687.

MOZAMBIQUE-ZIMBABWE Study Tour. June 21 to July 20. Visit schools, clinics, co-ops, women's organizations, etc. $3,205 from New York. Our Developing World, 13004 Paseo Presada, Saratoga, CA 95070, (408) 379-4431.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2001

P	R	I	M	O	R	D	I	A	L	■	C	A	L	F
E	■	N	■	U	■	I	■	L	■	S	■	R	■	O
S	E	C	O	N	D	S	■	O	C	T	O	B	E	R
T	■	L	■	C	■	B	■	O	■	R	■	I	■	E
■	B	U	R	E	A	U	O	F	■	A	T	T	I	C
C	■	D	■	■	■	R	■	■	■	N	■	E	■	A
O	P	E	N	S	■	S	T	A	N	D	A	R	D	S
R	■	■	■	T	■	E	■	G	■	E	■	■	■	T
P	A	R	T	R	I	D	G	E	■	D	E	V	I	L
U	■	E	■	A	■	■	■	S	■	■	■	E	■	E
S	E	V	E	N	■	A	N	O	T	H	E	R	S	■
C	■	E	■	G	■	T	■	F	■	E	■	A	■	A
L	E	N	D	E	R	S	■	M	A	R	I	N	E	R
E	■	U	■	R	■	E	■	A	■	O	■	D	■	I
S	T	E	P	■	C	A	N	N	O	N	B	A	L	L

MOVING?

ATTACH MAILING LABEL HERE

Don't miss a single issue of THE NATION.

New address:

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

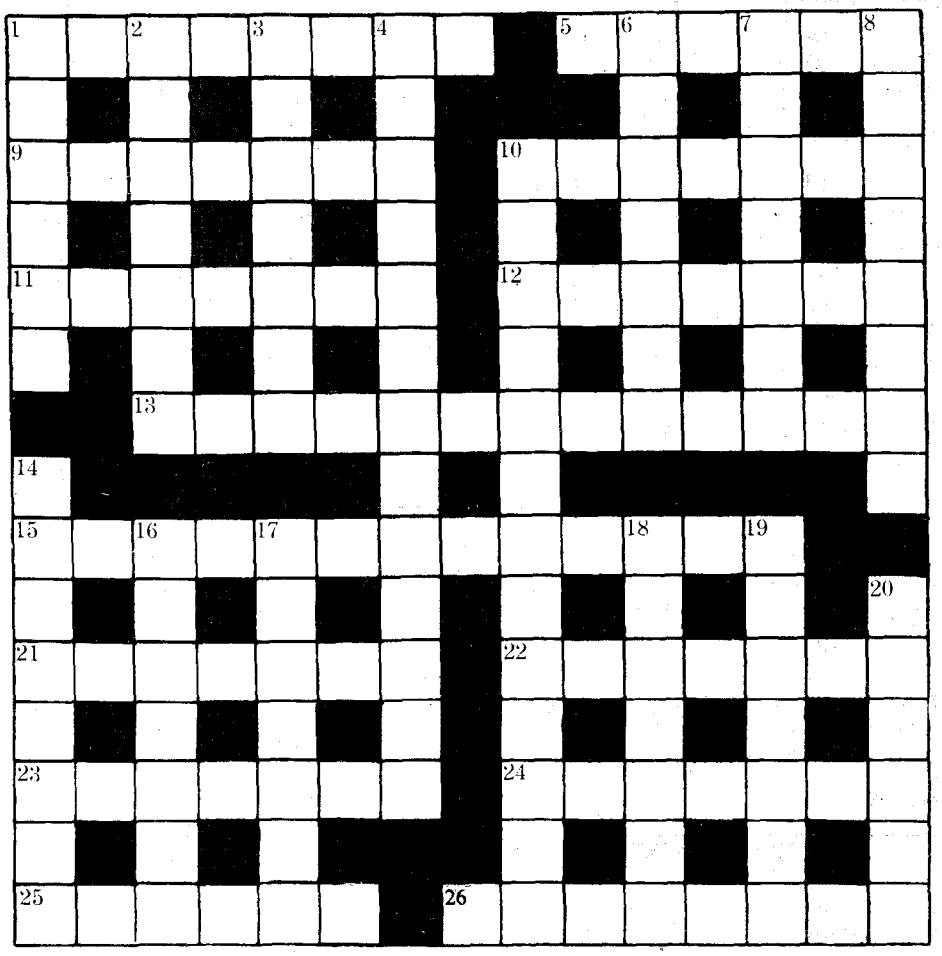
State _____ Zip _____

Please allow 6-8 weeks for processing.

Mail to: THE NATION
P.O. Box 1953
Marion, Ohio 43305

Crossword Puzzle No. 2002

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 7 down
5 The iceberg broke off a little bit this way. (6)
9 Would an inclination to take drawing be mainly defensive? (7)
10 Not an invited 19, though one might have taking ways. (7)
11 What a female might have stooped to do in play. (7)
12 Pulled back, possibly because the wind ran out? (7)
13 One of these should be till he rests cigars therein. (4,9)
15 and 23 In the eating, as they say, of this? (It might be high, if the sauce is rummy.) (3,5,2,3,7)
21 Short autobiography of Abbot's assistant? (It's not supported by factual study.) (1,6)
22 Create bit parts for the star, in a way. (7)
23 See 15
24 What makes the pilot so fiercely determined? It might show on his face. (7)
25 Obviously a female question—what might be on the table? (6)
26 A call for help is about most suitable for such a controversial substance! (8)

DOWN

1 How Hamlet's fell sergeant was in his arrest. (6)
2 Poor Richard! If he could perhaps spell better, he'd offer this version for you to peruse! (7)
3 Verne was responsible for a number of these under the sea. (It might be rather shaky with the French around!) (7)
4 In a way, it gives one the power of rating a way to keep things dry. (13)
6 Scrapes off something such as bread, perhaps. (7)
7 and 1 across A Strauss waltz indulged in by the town tippler? (7,8)
8 What fell from the wings of Night, according to Longfellow. (8)
10 By the sound of it, Hood's was as big as Brooklyn's! (6,2,5)
14 Get belted around, being hard up. (8)
16 Old mare—not exactly what it used to be! (That's just the title!) (7)
17 They might not have much experience, that is, in castles! (7)
18 When the hatter could have been a brewer? (7)
19 Net results, possibly, with extravagant talk of the competitor. (7)
20 There might be a number in the course, or at least part of one course. (6)

PUZZLED?

No more cross words. Find out why "little skipper" is a "truant." Send for a free copy of Frank W. Lewis's Ground Rules to *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

X-523

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ANNOUNCING:
THE NATION FACT-FINDERS
TOUR TO ISRAEL
JUNE 16–JUNE 30

Find out for yourself what's going on in Israel and the Occupied Territories. Join *The Nation* Fact-Finders for a thought-provoking journey to the heart of the Middle East.

Leading the tour will be Milton Viorst, distinguished author and *Nation* contributor. Viorst has also written extensively for *The Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *The Christian Science Monitor* and *National Jewish Monthly*, and is currently completing a book on the Middle East crisis.

TOUR HIGHLIGHTS

- **Meetings with top government and opposition leaders.**
- **In-depth seminars with leading activists in the Israeli peace movement,** including Peace Now, Yesh Gvul ("There Is a Limit"), religious and Sefardi doves, and non-Zionists.
- **A firsthand look at conditions on the West Bank, including:**
  - — A tour of new settlements.
  - — Meetings with leading Gush Emunim activists living in and near Hebron.
  - — Meetings with prominent Palestinians—mayors, lawyers, newspaper editors, writers, teachers and students—in East Jerusalem and on the West Bank.
  - — Background briefings by government and independent experts on the settlement policy and the human rights situation.
- **An examination of "Operation Peace for Galilee," featuring:**
  - — A point-counterpoint on Israel's security needs.
  - — A visit to Kiryat Shmoneh and Kibbutz Misgav Am, two northern border settlements, to talk to residents about the war in Lebanon.
- **Seminars and/or on-site exposure to other important aspects of Israeli society and politics, including:**
  - — Anti-Semitism and the experience of the Holocaust.
  - — Religion and the state.
  - — Non-Jewish minorities in Israel.
  - — Feminist activism.
  - — The economy: problems and solutions.
  - — The Ashkenazi-Sefardi gap.
- **Plus a sampling of Israel's natural, historical and cultural wealth, including:**
  - — Massada and the Dead Sea.
  - — A special walking tour of the Old City of Jerusalem led by a religious peace activist.
  - — A play, dance recital or concert in Tel Aviv.
  - — Travel through lush upper Galilee, the strategic Golan Heights and the ancient city of Acre.
  - — A night at the guest house of Kibbutz Nof Ginossar, on the shores of the Sea of Galilee.
- **Built into the itinerary will be time to explore on your own Israel's varied city life and night life, countryside and beaches.**
- **Optional extension to Egypt for as low as $500 per person.**

Price: $2,500 per person. This includes accommodations (double occupancy in first-class hotels in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa), all meals (except for four dinners), airfare to and from New York City, comprehensive background reading material and all transportation, sightseeing and related costs while in Israel. We are offering a 5 percent individual discount to Nation Associates.

Last year, *The Nation* Fact-Finders explored the European peace movements in East and West Germany and Holland, and returned home with a fresh perspective on the evolving attitudes in Europe on East-West relations. This year, we'll bring that same tradition of independent inquiry to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Response has been heavy and space is limited to 45, so it's important that you plan ahead as far as possible. Send a deposit of $200 per person to guarantee your place on the tour. All deposits are refundable until April 23.

No deposits will be accepted after that date.

SEND TO:

Micah Sifry, Tour Coordinator
The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue,
New York, NY 10011

☐ Enclosed is my deposit of $_____ for _____ person(s).

☐ Please send me more information on *The Nation* Fact-Finders Tour to Israel.

☐ Check here if you are a Nation Associate.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____ _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED